

**'STREET CHILDREN' and EDUCATION:**  
**a comparative study of**  
**European and third world approaches**

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## ABSTRACT

'Street children' appear, within current forms of state provision, an irreversible aspect of the world's 'out of school youth'. NGOs demonstrate appropriate strategies, but do not have the resources for widespread action. State Educational Systems are inert, but have the possibility of a more general response. The inclusion of these children within state education is therefore investigated in the light of NGO experience.

European history depicts a situation equatable with that of the present-day. This provides a basis to compare the relevance of Europe's arrival at a minimised incidence of street existence, with the present third world situation.

Current ethnography provides an understanding of the circumstances of street-life, and children's drawings are used as a research/educative technique. Definition is usually a prerequisite of discussions of disadvantaged groups, but it is argued that 'street children' are more usefully considered within a hierarchy of street use which includes all children.

Urban entropy is utilised as a conceptual framework applicable to past and present contexts, which proposes social coherence as an educational objective. A non-excluding school is propounded, which has the possibility of accommodating children irrespective of their degree of street use.

Field-work was carried out in South Africa, Turkey, and India.

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## INTRODUCTION

Estimates suggest that a quarter of the world's urban young at present needs recourse to some form of partial or permanent street existence. By 2000, over half the global population will live in cities. It is also predicted that 200 million children will be outside the influence of school systems by this time (World Bank 1989:28). Ethnographers determine a social phenomenon: 'street children', 'gamins', 'scugnizzi'. Educationalists define an educational problem: 'truants', 'drop-outs', 'out of school youth'. In urban areas they are, to a significant degree, describing the same children. The crucial link is that street existence entails forms of behaviour that complicate the general understanding of 'out of school youth': it is a circumstance that cannot be redressed simply by building more schools. Within prevailing forms of state provision, an irreversible situation seems to exist for millions of children who equate with past and present understandings of 'street child'.

The response of non-government organisations to those seen as street children provides a relevant corpus of knowledge, much of which finds support from progressive educational theory of this century, but at the present time they have little likelihood of making an impact on the required scale. Education Ministries are inert, but appear the only entity with the possibility of widespread action. A broader application of appropriate small-scale innovation, in

the form of non-excluding schools which could be relevant to all urban children, seems apposite. The central question of the study therefore examines how state systems of education might best be employed concerning 'street children and education', with cognisance of non-government initiatives.

European history depicts social circumstances comparable with the present third world: the Black Guard and the street Arab are reincarnated in the Malalapipe and the Sadak Chhap. The development of non-governmental and state responses, which culminated in universal educational provision, provide grounds for comparative analysis. How were 19th century street children accommodated within new state systems and what was the contribution of free, compulsory education to the minimisation of street existence? Are these lessons applicable to present third world state schools?

**Part One** establishes the theoretical bases of the study, and in particular examines the definition of 'street child'. The nature of the children concerned is addressed throughout the study by noting formal perceptions of those on the streets, reviewing current ethnographic perspectives, and using drawings as a research/teaching technique which permits the children to present their view of themselves. It is argued that 'street children' are more usefully seen within a hierarchy of street use which includes all children.

In **Part Two**, European and third world responses are identified within the continuum of education for unsupported children, in terms of actions and ideas. Two aspects are



relevant: structures that permit the education of those who were otherwise alienated, and specific pedagogical implications for this group. This provides the basis to compare the presently available "snapshot" view of current third world initiatives, with the development of European responses over the past two-thousand years. The merits of catering for those using the streets as a separate entity poses a central question.

In order to determine what is specifically new about the present situation, the precedents for contemporary actions are emphasised and the variance in past and present contexts discussed. Finally, the concept of urban entropy is proposed as a conceptual framework valid for historical, present and future forms of debate concerning urban education, and a hypothesis is proposed relating the education of street children to the antientropic functioning of education.

**Part Three**, employs comparative reasoning to propose future responses, with the objective of social coherence in the inherently disordering urban environment. Within this ethos, the central question is how to devise educational structures which can accommodate **all** children, to avoid separatist treatment. In practical terms this entails the possibilities of non-excluding schools within the ambit of a state system, which can accommodate individuals irrespective of their degree of street use.

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## **PART ONE**

### **The BASES of the STUDY**

## CHAPTER ONE

### DEFINITIONS and JUSTIFICATION

#### DEFINITIONS (1.1)

'Street children', 'Europe', 'third world', and 'education' are not precise terms. Further definition, even if arbitrary, appears a prerequisite.

#### 'Street children'

Writing in 1851, Henry Mayhew concluded in his **London Labour and the London Poor**: 'Each year sees an increase of the numbers of street children.' (1851:479). It seems probable that he coined the phrase as it follows naturally from his other descriptions: 'street-seller', 'street Jew', etc. A few years later, William Quarrier wrote to the town council in Glasgow 'in regard of the supervision of street children' (in RSU 1887:132). A paper of 1888, by the Rev. Benjamin Waugh, entitled 'Street Children', notes a proposed Bill for 'these slave children' which would make it an offence 'to send a child into the streets to beg, either openly, or under pretence of singing or playing, or sweeping a crossing, or hawking' (p826). The term does not feature in the documentation of the Ragged School Union until 1893. Here it refers not to the 'ragged class', but simply to children who spent much of life on the streets (RSU 1893:112). 'Street children' was re-utilized within UNESCO's literature

concerning war-vagrant children (1951:41), and it has been in general current use following the UN 'Year of the Child' in 1979.

Whilst the term is certainly ambiguous, language confirms a continued attempt to describe an equatable circumstance which has proliferated during the last 150 years (see Fig 1.). This is central to the argument for viewing children in relation to street existence as an identifiable entity.

What makes these children different, separate, a group perhaps deserving of a specific form of external intervention? Agnelli points out, 'Unlike orphans or the handicapped, nobody can identify a "street child" by any precise scientific criterion.' (1986:32). The present situation is concluded by Judith Ennew: 'Definitions of street children are many and, even when they are attempted, they are seldom applied either logically or consistently.' (UNICEF 1985:4).

The Oxford Dictionary determines 'a homeless or neglected child who lives chiefly in the streets'. This is succinct, but does not embrace those who live within their family home, yet spend time working on the streets. A lucid statement from Brazil suggests:

Street children are most practically defined as those minors who spend at least a major part of their waking hours working or wandering in urban streets (UNICEF 1988:3).

The Brazilian press has used 'orphans with living parents' (Cov. Ho. 1983:68); other descriptions include 'dispossessed' (Cov. Ho. 1983:32), and 'internally dislocated' (BBC 1988j.).

**Fig. 1.**

**"STREET CHILDREN": RELATED and COLLECTIVE TERMS**

RELATED TERMS

Truant	347BC	'avoiding the law like truant children' Plato, Republic (548)
	13th cent.	[sturdy beggars and idle rogues]
	15th cent.	[pupils absent from school without leave]
	1708	'A heedless Troop of wanton boys...In idle Pastime truanting the day' (Boileau)
Ragamuffin	1383	[A ragged, dirty, disreputable man or boy]
	1581	'...who care not how like slovens and ragamuffins they are'
Urchin	1530	[a pert, mischievous, or roughish youngster; a brat]
	1839	'the gutter urchins'
Runaway	1548	'a runaway minor' (Patten)
	1851	Henry Mayhew talks of 'runaway street-boys' as distinct from his 'street children'. (1851:483)
	1861	'20 of the elder girls (some of them runaways), who have been restored to their home' (Commons Report on the Education of Destitute Children 1861:16)
	1904	'Orphans, deserted children, and runaways, who live by begging and stealing' (Montague 1904:47).
	1972	Recent usage was marked by the U.S. Senate Runaway Youth Act
Waif	1624,	[an unowned or neglected child]
	1857	'to gather up the waifs and strays that abound in the byeways'
Black-guard	1683	'a sort of vicious, idle, and masterless boys and rogues, commonly called the BLACK-GUARD, with divers other lewd and loose fellows, vagabonds, vagrants, and wandering men & women (in Farmer 1965)
Street Arab	1848	Gutherie [a homeless vagrant (usu. a child) living in the streets]
Street-boy	1854	'I was a ragged street boy' Dickens [a homeless or neglected
Street girl	1904	boy/girl who lives chiefly on the streets]
Gamin	1840	[a street Arab] orig. French

COLLECTIVE TERMS

Ragged children	1844	coined by S.R.Stacey (RSU 1894:35)
Perishing and dangerous classes	1851	proposed by Mary Carpenter (1851:2)
Destitute and neglected	1861	House of Commons Select Committee Report
Morally abandoned	1889	French legislature
Substratum	1904	proposed by Huxley (Montague 1904:397)
Homeless Children.	1950	UNESCO (1950a.)
Vagrant Children	1951	UNESCO (1951)
'In need of care and attention'		20th centry legislative euphamism

CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN (e.g.):

L'enfance en marche'	France
Ninos caminando	Spain
Kinder in der Strasse	Germany
Gaiato	Portugal
Scugnizzo (spinning top)	Italy, Naples
Crusties	Britain, Bristol

CONTEMPORARY THIRD WORLD (e.g.):

Poussins (chicks) and	Cameroons
Moustiques (mosquitoes)	Peru
Pajaro fruteri (fruit birds)	Colombia
Gamin	Rwanda
Saligoman (nasty gamin)	Zaire
Moineaux (sparrows)	Nairobi
Parking-boys	Johannesburg
Malunde (person of the street)	Zulu, orig, circa 1950s
Malalapipe (those who sleep in the pipes)	(Swart 1988c.:232).
Sadak Chhap (stamp of the street)	India, Bombay

(Quotes and definitions [ ] from The Oxford English Dictionary unless otherwise stated)

UNICEF (1986a:10) provides three categories which relate essentially to the third world.

A. "candidates for the street", children working on the streets but living with their families.

B. "children on the street" with 'inadequate and/or sporadic' family support.

C. "children of the street", those 'functionally without family support'.

At the present time the simple distinction 'on the street' and 'of the street' is most generally accepted (see: 'Childhope' 1987:1-2 & UNICEF 1985:4)). This is remarkably akin to Greenwood's differentiation in 1869 between 'home-owning' and 'homeless' 'city Arabs' (p6); also to Srivastava's distinction between 'pavement sleeping' and 'those who have homes', concerning India's 'Juvenile Vagrants' (1963:12). Those 'of' the street are known now in Bombay as the 'roofless and rootless' (CRY 1989a.), and determined by Judith Ennew as 'hearthless children: minors who have no ties and no shelter' (UNICEF 1985:5). An 'at risk' group is also seen as part of the overall picture.

The US Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice proposes categories which attempt to define the situation within the metropolitan countries:

- (i) 'push-outs or throwaways' - abandoned or orphaned children who are not supported by relatives or community.
- (ii) 'runaways' - those with homes who have been forced to leave through rejection or abuse (US Senate 1986:1).

The most popular definition at present, and 'one of the more useful' (UNICEF 1985:4), came from the Inter-NGO programme on

street children and street youth (1983:2):

A street child is any boy or girl who has not reached adulthood for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland etc.) has become her or his habitual abode and/or sources of livelihood and who is inadequately protected, supervised or directed by responsible adults.

The major weakness of this, as suggested by Swart is 'that it looks at the child EXTERNALLY' (1987a:6): there is no subjective element.

In a broader context the problem of definition is well expressed by Kallen:

...the mass of "excluded" from the "good life" is composed of very different categories of young people. That new categories seem to be found almost daily is not only a matter of fashion. It also betrays the capacity of our modern societies-in-transition to continuously generate new categories of excluded, of poor, of left-outs or left-overs (in Watson 1983:26).

Definitions of non-mainstream groups are inherently divisive and can only be justified as a temporary means of increasing understanding. 'Street child' is a convenient generalisation implying a range of social problems, but also a diversity of personal qualities, characteristics, and intellects. It is descriptive of circumstance, not of a type of human being.

#### The areas of comparison

For the purposes of this study 'Europe' is taken to include all the member countries of the European Economic Community: France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Italy, West Germany, United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland, Greece, Portugal, and Spain. Geographically it is, therefore, the European sector of the continent of Eurasia, excluding Scandinavia and the Warsaw

Pact countries (Eastern Europe).

A definition of 'Third (i.e. last discovered) World' is based on the original Red Cross/WHO map (Fig 2.). This, with the exclusion of China (in view of its historical independence and cultural individuality) and the inclusion of South Africa (on the grounds that there, street children originate from the 'non-European' population), matches the intent of this study.

'Education' (in relation to street children)

To restrict consideration to the education of street children would seem to carry two false inferences: that any educative process inherently provides a greatly improved life-chance; that 'street child education' is an ideal to be perpetuated. The study therefore also encompasses educating about street children. Hence: 'Education and street children'.

Fred Riggs defines 'development' as a **neutral** process, differentiating between 'positive development', and 'negative development' (Rodman 1968:29); the concept seems relevant to this discussion. 'Education' is, therefore, not taken to imply a necessarily benevolent process which unquestionably produces an upgraded product. Rather, (in terms of 'product'):

a change of intellect brought about by an identifiable  
process contributing to that end

or (in terms of 'process'):

an identifiable process contributing to a change of  
intellect.



Fig. 2.

The THIRD WORLD  
(World Health Organisation)



## JUSTIFICATION for the study (1.2.)

Justification stems from precedents in the use of comparative study concerning the education of street children, and from consideration of the current state of knowledge.

### Precedents

The first instance of policy derived from cultural borrowing on the basis of a common problem, seems to be the suggestion of 'workhouses' and 'working schools' prompted by 'the subtle Dutch' and proposed to the Board of Trade in 1697 by Sir Josiah Child (Child 1670:81). A prototype "comparative" study concerning neglected, vagrant, and delinquent children, was the result of a tour of France, Ireland, London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham by an American Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, in 1832. He formed the, then original, conclusion that to educate such children was cheaper than dealing with them as delinquents (Manton 1976:48;50).

In 1837, Joseph Kay visited a school in Glasgow, set up to 'rescue poor boys and girls from a life of vagabondage' (Pollard 1956:217-8) concluding 'How little we knew of this subject before our visit to Glasgow' (ibid 219). This visit, and others to Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Prussia, and Germany, culminated in **The Education of the poor in England and Europe** (1846). This contains integrated descriptions of the countries concerned, a clear use of comparative reasoning in the conclusion. A later use of this and fresh material (adding Austria, Denmark, Norway and Sweden), culminated in **The social condition and education of the people in England**

**and Europe** (1850). His findings reflect deep concern about the problem of street children in England, concluding that in the rest of Europe, 'No children are left idle and dirty in the streets of the towns - there is no class of children who frequent our "ragged schools"'(p2). The work is mentioned by Holmes as a precursor of modern comparative study (1965:19).

In a later paper (in Hill 1851) the development of Kay's own methodological thinking appears reflected in the title: **On the comparative condition of children in English and foreign towns**. The work relates directly to education and street children: 'I have ventured to make these remarks to enable me the better to explain how the children are saved from street life throughout Central and Northern Europe.'(p84).

Kay's brother, Kay-Shuttleworth, followed a similar pattern of study producing, in 1839, **The training of pauper children** which relates to 'orphans', 'deserted children', and 'bastards'(1839a:3). In this he arrives at the conclusion that religious acrimony in England had prevented the development of mass education as prevalent in most of Europe (p207).

Examples of reports resulting from the study of other countries, are numerous. The Philanthropic Society commissioned a detailed study of the Agricultural Colony at Mettray (TPS 1846) which influenced their work at Red Hill in Britain. Mary Carpenter's book **Reformatory Schools**, followed visits to France, Germany, America, and Scotland (1851). Joseph Fletcher's **The farm school system of the continent and its applicability to the preventive and reformatory education**

of pauper and criminal children in England and Wales is a comprehensive evaluation of Europe's agricultural colonies in relation to 'Young Paupers, Mendicants, Vagabonds, Orphans, and Foundlings, Deserted Children, and those in Moral Danger (moral Orphans)''(1851;7). This was paralleled by another European survey for the French Minister of Justice by Edouard Ducpetiaux, also in 1851: **Colonies agricoles, écoles rurales et écoles de réform pour les mendicants et les vagabonds...** E.C.Wines epic tome **The state of prisons and of child-saving institutions in the civilised world**, reviews Europe (E & W), USA, British colonies, Russia, S.America, N.Africa, Arabia, China and Japan from the criminologist's perspective (1880).

In France, international awareness culminated in a special 'School for Street Arabs', the D'Alembert School at Montévrain (est. 1881). A contemporary account gives direct credit for its conception and other strategies relating to street children, to a comparative approach:

In initiating Montévrain and its mates, the French officials made a careful study of the legislation and establishments in Great Britain and the United States. The interesting story of the development of reformatory and industrial schools is a record of the generous rivalry and emulation between different states of western Europe and their transatlantic neighbors. The French reformers combined the best features of the whole field, and, moreover, [naturellement!] made a distinct advance on all (Spearman in Woods 1971).

Despite a history of comparative study relating to street existence which parallels that concerning mainstream educational provision, a comparative approach appears to be absent concerning the problem in its present form.

### Present motivation

Awareness of the children concerned comes from two spheres.

(i) A street child perspective: an ethnographic approach which is concerned about the environment and condition of the children, using the terms 'street children', 'runaways', 'gamines', etc. (ii) An educational perspective: this focuses on the children's absence from school, defining the problem as 'dropouts', 'school failures', 'truants' or 'out-of-school youth'.

Following the 'Year of the Child' in 1979, "street children" entered public awareness (ICCB 1987:12) (see New Int. 1979). Despite this the following situation was said to exist in 1985 regarding research:

...there is almost no sociological or analytical discourse to delineate either the 'problem' or its incidence...even if the time available...would permit the development of a rigorous discussion, there is almost no material upon which it could be based (p2)...There are no general texts which deal adequately with the topic of street children...(UNICEF 1985:4)

In 1986 a report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, **Street children: a growing urban tragedy**, provided a general synopsis of the prevailing situation, recommending that:

The resources of universities, intellectual and material, should be brought to bear. Research should focus on the nature and prevalence of street children; the long-term effects of street existence, and local causes and consequences of the problem. It should evaluate efforts undertaken to resolve it. (Agnelli 1986:114) (my emphasis).

Whilst in retrospect a certain amount of research was being undertaken at this time, notably in Brazil from 1982-1986 (UNICEF 1987 & 1988), even this report still points to the need:

To break down isolation, establishing a flow of information and ideas between programmes...  
To study programmes in the field in order to discover and disseminate successful methods and models(1988:23).

A UNICEF evaluation of NGOs in Brazil concluded, 'The most important contribution of the project was to redefine the problem as education rather than social assistance' (UNICEF 1987a.:17). This notion, emanating from a 'street child perspective', concurs with a growing awareness from educationalists that national educational systems are far from achieving the intention of mass education. Philip Coombes was adamant that:

...maladjustments, disparities, and deficits...cannot be remedied simply by doing more of the same...Nor can they be remedied merely by tinkering with the existing objectives, curricula, teacher training, salary provisions, and educational technologies of formal education systems, if for no other reason...than because some of the most massive and important unmet learning needs belong to people outside and beyond the present reach of schools and colleges. (1985:131) (my emphasis).

Coombes expands his thinking when discussing 'out-of-school-youth':

Much could be done to reduce the huge waste of human resources represented by out-of-school-youth...Flexible and responsive nonformal education programs can provide important opportunities...for these young people whose needs in most countries lie beyond the sphere of responsibility of any particular ministry (ibid:238).

In academic circles the sentiment finds agreement with an admission from Angela Little of the London Institute of Education: 'Even in my own department [Education & Development] the dominant focus of our work is on children and young people in the formal education system rather than those outside (1988:18).

A 1987 survey in **Comparative Education Review** concerning Latin America comes close to presenting a 'street child perspective':

The problem of the social and educational marginal groups is not only a theoretical challenge but is also a political one. However, specifically in education the issue is also stated in pedagogical terms, and the question educational research must answer is how children coming from marginal sectors can be taught...The situation has not been sufficiently studied from the educational point of view (Tedesco 1987:518).

Coming full-circle Mario Borelli from Naples, probably the most notable street child educator in Europe, questions '...the role of the school in the process. We have made generalisations, but no clear cut position as to the role of the school has been mentioned' (Covenant House 1983:82).

The 'street child' and 'educational' perspectives are discussing the same children. In view of the scale of the situation, unification and co-operation seem appropriate objectives. The present situation is well concluded by Judith Ennew:

With a problem as urgent as the problem of street children action is imperative: not to act is immoral, hesitation and delay are criminal, but to act without thinking is both foolhardy and dangerous (1988).

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK and METHODOLOGY

#### OBJECTIVES (2.1.)

Comparative study usually concerns educational systems and their determining context, but most street children are, almost by definition, outside these. A justification of the fact that intent falls within an acceptable determination of the general aims of comparative study therefore seems necessary. Objectives are viewed in two categories: (i) the relationship of the topic to the standard aims of comparative research, and (ii) those specifically emerging from the study itself.

#### (i) Objectives related to comparative theory

Edmund King (1979:31) provides three basic 'functions' which relate well to general intent:

(a) to **inform and sensitize** people eager to study the workings of education in a variety of alternative contexts

Despite a subject definition which relates to 25% of the children living in the urban areas of the world, it is not possible to find a single work of direct relevance on the shelves of an education library.

(b) to **aid analysis** of educational phenomena, trends and problems

The type of overview facilitated by comparative work should present a framework for existing area studies and ethnographic



work. Research in progress in Turkey, for example, is descriptive of working street children similar to those in Brazil and numerous other countries. There are no general educational theories concerning these children.

(c) to **guide educational decision and development** - with increasing recognition of socioeconomic and political repercussions, in both directions.

King's third objective seems particularly pertinent in view of the almost total lack of response from state systems to the needs of marginalised children. The study should, in King's words, add 'an **internationally analytical dimension**' (p31) to existing descriptive surveys.

Trethewey (1976:27) provides four 'ends' which usefully support and extend the 'functions' from King (above):

(i) better understanding of education in your home country,

With increasing reports of children taking to the streets in the UK and an unacceptable 'truancy rate' the topic is gaining domestic relevance. Of equal interest is the historical awareness of how street children contributed to the formulation of English education policy culminating in the 1870 Act. This understanding indicates the latent functions of our schools in deterring recourse to street life.

(ii) educational development, improvement or reform at home and abroad,

This aspect is covered by King in (c) (above), but Trethewey emphasises that comparative conclusions need not be home based.

(iii) the development of knowledge, theories and principles about education generally, and about relationships between education and society,

Although King states, to 'aid analysis of educational phenomena' (b.), Trethewey's proposal elucidates this. The mention of educational 'theories and principles' highlights the absence of basic proven assumptions concerning this topic: e.g. there are no educational theories about the positive or negative effects of including child labour within the pattern of education, yet it has been a recognised strategy with street children for centuries, reiterated recently by UNICEF (1986b.:19). Within UPE objectives, street children exemplify a breakdown in 'relationships between education and society,'.

(iv) international understanding and co-operation, and the resolution of educational and other problems of an international kind.

The feeling of global responsibility, at present fostered by UNICEF and other international agencies, appears as an almost unique example of a consensus of educational concern for a single definable group, perhaps only paralleled by that for refugee children.

#### Objectives emerging from the nature of the study

Two broad objectives are generally agreed in relation to any human services intervention: (i) **individual**, to facilitate better life-chances for the children, and (ii) **social**, to encourage beneficial interaction with the general community. How might education, in the broadest sense, contribute to achieving these?

A principal objective for the study can be derived from two assumptions:

- (i) that however laudable, NGO and "pilot" government initiatives are only able to involve a small proportion of those children they would wish to reach;
- (ii) the only organisations committed to the interests of children which demonstrate the possibility of sufficient resources, networks and other facets of equitable provision, are the national educational systems. The fact that educational systems have a capability with a reasonable chance of applying large-scale strategies seems demonstrated by the history of the metropolitan nations.

The initial question, providing a focus for the first part of the study, is therefore:

**how might national educational systems best be employed concerning 'education and street children', without destroying the benefits and innovative approach of the prevailing response?**

Secondary objectives may concern state education, but with the concurrent aim of complementing and supporting existing NGO practices. With reference to criteria suggested by Halls (1973:124), the study is therefore constructed in a manner which might be of relevance to those concerned with: 'curriculum', 'methods of instruction', 'structures', and 'aims'.

## REVIEW of DIRECTLY RELATED LITERATURE (2.2.)

This review is restricted to published writings specifically concerning street children at the present time. The first part discusses general works and the second concerns the few published writings which explicitly relate to education. The main bibliographies are listed, which provides access to country-specific material.

### Street children

A global survey of the projects working with children on the streets was undertaken by the ICCB **Inter-NGO Programme on street children and street youth** from 1983 to 1985. This resulted in a set of descriptive **Project Profiles** (1984;1985). Documentation from Covenant House (1983), **'Shelter the Children: an international symposium on street youth'**, provides insights into the ideals of those running such projects. There is one general, published work which deals with the contemporary situation, **Street children: a growing urban tragedy** (Agnelli 1986). This was devised primarily as 'bed-time reading' for third world politicians and bureaucrats to promote an awareness of the topic. It therefore lacks substance from an academic standpoint and is unreferenced, but the information is essentially accurate as it derives from the ICCB Programme.

Three journalistic accounts **'Children in Darkness'** (CMS 1987); **Children First - street child special** (UNICEF 1987b.) and; **'How to help children'** (New Int. 1989) provide good general surveys. The UNICEF/Anti-slavery society's

bibliography **Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances: street children** (1985) (prepared, without acknowledgement, by Judith Ennew) also gives a sound overview of the topic.

Most individual projects provide useful, if sometimes exaggerated, documentation of their work and philosophies. Addresses of central agencies that provide general information about projects appear in Appendix I.

#### Education and street children

The first specific work of the present period, **L'Obra da Rua et L'education des enfants privés de milieu éducatif** (1978) does not feature in other contemporary discussion. Although published in French in concerns Portuguese children, and is the result of PhD work in the Faculté de Psychologie et Sciences de l'education de l'Université de Louvain. The perspective is consequently derived from the field of educational psychology. As such it perhaps seeks problems which are latent rather than central. Nevertheless, it provides a useful record of the philosophy of the institution studied which is based on a Catholic view of 'reconversion'.

A useful collection of papers, **Education in the street (Vol I)**, comes from 'Childhope' in Guatemala (1987c.). This resulted from a meeting of 30 'street educators' and provides an impressionistic, if repetitive and unfocussed, recount of work on the streets. UNICEF presents a booklet entitled **Paulo Freire and the street educators** (1987c.). Of that which is intelligible, there seems little which suggests that Freire's thinking has been "reinvented" for the benefit of the topic.

Sentiments which escape absurdity in the light of the primary needs of street children, appear as abstruse truisms. Freire's philosophies pervade much of the South American street educator ethos and this work must be something of a disappointment to the discipleship.

Despite its title, **You are a thief: an experience with street children** (1987), Fabio Dallape's work is probably the best exemplar of the practical considerations of street child education. Stemming from a background in development work in Nairobi, Dallape recognises the integrated role of education within an overall paradigm. Jill Swart's article 'Street-wise: opening the way to self-actualisation for the street children' (1988) is an anthropologist/practitioner perspective from South Africa. It displays how an ethnographic and human awareness of the nature of street children should influence objectives. The fact that, unlike Dallape's work, Swart does not present her arguments within a development framework is indicative of the constraints of working within an apartheid system which precludes participatory development.

Specific educational literature appears minimal, but this can be taken to indicate that schooling is usually seen as one facet of a range of necessary strategies.

## Bibliographies

### UNICEF

- (1985) Children in especially difficult  
circumstances: street children an  
annotated bibliography

London: Anti-slavery society. (March 1985)

[Excellent text and annotation which in terms of common sense is still the best general document available - written by Judith Ennew of 'Streetwise Int.', but not acknowledged]

Inter-NGO programme on street children and street youth.

- (1985) Bibliography on street children

Geneva: Int. Cath. Child Bureau.

[The result of the ICCB's programme - exhaustive but not selected, which means that many of the entries are too local to be obtainable]

Felsman, J.Kirk.

- (1985) Street children: a selected bibliography  
(ERIC-ED 182 465) (December 1985)

Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth medical  
school.

[A brief but well compiled list - makes mention of relevant films]

International Catholic Child Bureau

- (1987) 'International action for street children  
and street youth: an overview' (Bibliography  
at end) in Children worldwide vol.14, no.1.

[A brief and manageable resumé of the Inter-NGO 1985 bibliog.  
with a few up-dates]

### UNICEF

- (1987) Children in especially difficult  
circumstances (Development education resource  
bulletin No.1)

Geneva: UNICEF (January 1987)

[A very well annotated collection of area studies, although selected specifically with an educative rather than academic view in mind, it is probably the best list of specific material recently available as it details all the UNICEF material]

The Children's Society

- (1988) Young runaways

Reading list no.1.

London: The Children's society.

[A brief but useful list mainly concerning the Society's work in England - the London headquarters houses an archive of the Society's work when known as 'The Waifs & Strays Society']

### FIELD-WORK, and QUESTIONNAIRES (2.3.)

The data for this study derives from experience working with, and talking to those who run NGO projects; an accumulation of material through correspondence, informal interviews, postal questionnaires; and the use of drawings as an interviewing technique with street children. To ensure a balanced perspective the areas of information gathering reflect the 'structural levels' which provide the framework for chapters Three and Five (see 2.6.).

'Structural level'	PRESENT SITUATION?	FUTURES?
Street Children	What are their perceptions of education? [method: behaviour, interviews-drawings]	How would they see school better accommodating their needs/life-style.
Individuals within host and home communities	How do families view cause & effect re. schools & street life? [method: ethnographic literature]	In what way would communities like schools reflect the needs s.c.?
NGOs	Are they working with state schs? [method: postal questionnaire; correspondence]	Could interaction be improved?
Governments	What is state educ. prov. for s.c. <u>outside</u> of state schs.? [method: postal questionnaire]	How do governments view the role of state schs. re. s.c.?
National systems of education	Are they adopting specific strategies re. s.c.? [method: postal questionnaire]	How would they <u>wish</u> to address the situation?



## Field-work

A two-year period in South Africa during 1985-7 provided a chance to work with Johannesburg's street children (mainly 'of' the street) at **PROsCESS** (Project Street Children Educational and Social Support). During the last six months the Royal Netherland's Embassy funded a post for me to help set up and co-ordinate an educational project '**street-wise**', which was to meet the specific educational needs of street children within shelters or still on the streets. During this time I visited and worked with similar projects in Cape Town and Swaziland. Ethnographic study was possible in collaboration with Jill Swart of the Dept. of Anthropology, Univ. of South Africa, which concerned general life-styles and as specifically related to the 'moral values' of the children.

In the summer of 1988, a 3-week study period was possible in Turkey. This provided an alternative perspective as the problem there is generally of 'working street children' ('on' the street). Contact was made with Dr Esin Conanc of the Faculty of Education at Ankara University, who is engaged in a study of these children throughout the country. A brief period of street work was possible together with her.

The final phase of field work took place during two months in India in 1989. The locations reflected the two central facets of the study: street child, and educational perspectives (1.2.).

(i) **Bombay** and **Tamil Nadu**, which provide the street child perspective through the existence of numerous NGO projects.

(ii) The state of Kerala, representing the influence of a unique state system of education. Despite being one of the poorest states, with the highest population density in India, Kerala spends about 40% of its budget on education and claims that virtually every child attends school. It is reported that health and welfare provision are equally impressive (Lewis 1989:40).

This provides a basis for comparisons to evaluate notionally whether, within the same country, a well funded state system appears to have the effect of reducing the number of children on the streets.

Three impromptu pieces of work were also possible in India. Firstly, the discovery that the 1986 Education Policy proposed changes which directly relate to street children provided the chance to examine problems of implementation (Chapter Thirteen). Secondly, an invitation to present a workshop to project workers, in conjunction with Parisar Asha and the UNICEF backed Co-ordination Committee for Vulnerable Children (CCVC), was a useful means to validate and develop the first draft of Part Three of the study. Thirdly to evaluate the TEFL Manual (12.2.2.) through discussion and implementation.

Since 1988 I have been working as a part-time consultant to The Children's Society concerning their response to young people on the streets in England. This entailed contributing to the foundation of a project in Manchester, **Safe in the City**, and included street work with Peter Blackley whose

experience in this field derived from leading a unique DES funded 'alternative youth work' project, doing street-based work in the Wirral. This provided an insight into a youth/social work approach, an opportunity to relate educational aspects to this, and experience of project evaluation.

Field-study provided an opportunity to try pedagogical methods, to gain an initial insight into street children's views, and to absorb the 'flavour' of the topic. It was considered more worthwhile to test ideas through discussion and practical implementation rather than to replicate forms of data which are available from other sources. Full-scale ethnographic work was not therefore attempted: this is more effectively carried out by those with local knowledge. For a global survey, an over-reliance on country-specific knowledge could also have led to a biased presentation, and in the case of South Africa, very idiosyncratic data.

#### Questionnaire survey

A postal questionnaire survey provided the best means of obtaining a balanced picture of the global response to street children, and more specifically to ascertain the degree to which state systems of education are involved. Separate questionnaires (see Appendix II) were sent to -

- (i) NGOs [100]
- (ii) State welfare departments [42]
- (iii) Ministries/Departments of Education [42]
- (iv) supra-national agencies [15]

Countries were chosen which have known responses to street children, generally from the ICCB Inter-NGO Programme on Street Children and Street Youth, and UNICEF lists. This provided a balanced cross section from each continent.

The objectives were:

1. To obtain general descriptions of the perception of street children, the forms of response, and the successes and failures of stated strategies.
2. To confirm the suspicion that Ministries of Education were doing little to specifically accommodate street children, and to invite suggestions as to how this might be redressed.
3. To ascertain the degree to which entities are aware of the work of others, and are willing to provide information.

As a result, only two Education Ministries responded, Botswana and Grenada; it is noteworthy that there is a negligible reported incidence of street children in both these countries. This seems to confirm that there are no significant strategies being employed (ministries are usually not forthcoming concerning innovatory work) and that the topic is not a welcome area of debate. A few Welfare Ministries were able to produce printed material, and that from Bogota was particularly impressive, but opinion and comment was lacking as was a knowledge of NGO work. All agencies returned well-prepared documentation, especially UNICEF, but again specific opinions were not offered. By contrast, the replies from NGOs were more forthcoming [46/100], usually included well produced documentation, frequently expressed individual thinking, and

demonstrated a knowledge of other responses.

Interviewing the children: the use of thematic drawings in  
South Africa and India

Extracting accurate information from street children is problematic: giving appropriate rather than accurate information is a primary survival technique. Asking the children to produce drawings relating to a specific theme, and to tell a short story about their pictures provided, less guarded revelations. This method proved a valuable combined research/teaching technique with children who were semi-literate, of varying ages, and of differing IQs.

Concerning attitudes to school the theme 'me at school' and 'the school I would like' were used. Other titles to gain knowledge of general street life included: 'me on the streets with other boys', 'the police', 'what I see in my head when I sniff glue'. Information concerning home backgrounds was prompted by: 'me at home', 'people fighting'. Insights into moral values were provided by: 'a very bad person', 'a very good person' and lists of 'people doing bad/good things'. An awareness of traditional knowledge came from asking the children to draw 'the thokoloshe' a South African mythical being. Fears were revealed through 'the most horrible thing that can happen to a person', and hopes through 'me when I'm 30'. The drawings have been included throughout the study to provide the children's view of their life, and have been used more formally in relation to language teaching in Chapter 12.

#### SHORTCOMINGS, PITFALLS and ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS (2.4.)

##### Shortcomings and pitfalls

A study encompassing a generalised, global 80 million and the specifics of individual children, may well exemplify Trethewey's 'generality-specificity trap' (1976:47). Available data is usually either on the level of individual case-studies, or global "macro-cures". Discussion can at least be guilty of both. National educational systems should provide a pivot for a more balanced debate. Similarly, the use of 'structural levels' (see 2.6.) provides a framework for balanced data collection. Generalisations are, however, inevitable - anecdotes empirically valueless but aesthetically indispensable.

The historical aspect will carry an undeniable British bias, due to availability of literature. This is not altogether unfortunate because of two aspects of the English situation. Firstly, there is a unique history of state response dating from the Tudor Poor Laws. Secondly, the delay in instituting mass schooling in Britain was responsible for a particularly high incidence of street children (Manton 1976:81; Kay 1846; Kay in Hill 1857). As the 1870 Education Act was intended, in part, to counter the problem of children on the streets, this provides useful data concerning the integration of such children into a national educational system. Similarly the resultant 'Ragged School Union' represents a "system" of NGO education which did not evolve to the same degree in other European countries.

Concerning the 'gathering of reliable information' (Trethewey 1976:41), the lack of retrospective data relating to children is confirmed by Heward, who complains of:

...the paucity of historical evidence about children in the past and... the lack of importance given to questions and issues about children in historical scholarship. Even the recent attempts to recover the history of ordinary men and women in social, labour and feminist history have ignored children...the history of education has concentrated on institutions, legislation, and administration (in Hurt 1981:81).

This is compounded by the existence of questionable opinions expressed on behalf of children. Concerning the delights of manual labour an observer in 1722 concluded:

It is worth while for any gentleman minded to set up a working school to go thither to see how eagerly the children press to go to school by 5 o'clock...and grudge every hour they spend out of it(in Jones 1938:91).

Teaching methods can also appear quixotic, for example the supposed system of regulation at Atcham Workhouse school, York:

The punishment of a lazy boy was simple and effective. He was taken away from his work to look at the others busily employed, with the result that in almost every case the boy asked for liberty to go to work again (Chance 1897:16).

Evaluations of schooling can be equally biassed; Montague tells of a little girl who defied her father and refused to steal:

"Father you may kill me but I won't steal"...The power of the Gospel as taught in the Ragged school had truly reached the child's heart. - God bless the Ragged School Union (1904:305).

Kazamias and Massialas conclude that there are four weaknesses in 19th century writings: they were **descriptive, eulogistic, utilitarian, and melioristic** (based on the view of progressive development brought about through human endeavour) (in Trethewey 1976:17). In view of the 19th century flavour of the study, these reservations apply to all available data. It is also problematic, within historical material, to determine whether 'street Arabs' and other collective terms included girls. Similarly, 'children' is likely to imply a younger age group in past than in current literature. Contemporary prints and paintings can provide an alternative source of data which, although not free from these problems, are sometimes less partisan.

A desire to "support the cause" exists not only in documentation, but is a personal hazard. Wolcott elucidates, suggesting that ethnographers 'seem particularly susceptible to evoking sympathy for certain groups...e.g. ...the poor...than for other groups...e.g. white, middle-class teachers, administrators or bureaucratic functionaries.' (1975:124). Mario Borelli candidly admits to a desire 'to mythologize poverty and the children a little bit.' (Cov. Ho. 1983:83).

#### **Ethical considerations**

Endeavour which furthers personal academic progress whilst leaving children to sleep in dustbins cannot be beyond question. The possibility of combining constructive research with the active support of the children has been previously



discussed (see Williams 1988d.:2,8). There remains, however, a number of constraints which inhibit pure research.

Ethnographic work must often come second to intervention. If a child is injured it is tempting, as a researcher, to discover who offers help; as a human being one becomes that person. When children are on the streets they are "at work" (see ISMA 1986:14). Whilst giving money is the surest way to obtain misinformation, the logic expressed by a 12-year-old Irish gipsy girl outside Birmingham University is indisputable: "Now you've kept me hanging around here talking to you for ten minutes - time's money and I'm very busy just now - that'll be a pound please." Although complying with such requests appears to reinforce divisive social relationships, cash permits the recipient the dignity and pleasure of making purchases based on personal decisions and choices. The offer of food, clothes or "help" is often more demeaning. There are also problems about the dissemination of data which may cause harm (see Burgess 1982:20): to reveal secret haunts or psychological weaknesses can be unacceptable.

It is problematic to gain the 'informed consent' of street children (see Burgess 1982:12). The justification for research must rest either on the belief that permission would be forthcoming if the nature of the work was understood, or that research is demonstrably to their advantage. Both are precarious defences. Ethnographic work with disadvantaged groups can become simple voyeurism. This is well summed up by a Colombian street child:

We don't want you just to look at us or to observe us. We wish that something could be done to help us improve our life. People come and watch us and look at us and then they just go away, and we never hear from them again (Covenant House 1983:11).

If children are permitted clear unconditional channels of communication concerning their problems, then it seems important to question how much further research need go, in order to provide better life-chances. The view that 'the only research necessary ...[is] to look out of the bloody window', is often not unreasonable (Midwinter 1972:46).

Collection of data can represent little more than middle-class academics learning "how the other half lives". Research should entail giving facts new meaning for **all** concerned. It seems rare that researchers of disadvantaged groups return to those studied, to discuss "findings" which are in effect the biographical property of the "subjects". Susan George proposes simply, 'Let the poor study themselves. They already know what is wrong with their lives...'(1976:289). It is frequently communication channels that are absent, rather than knowledge.

A broader view of the implications of research on a similar group is discussed, in relation to gipsies, by Liégeois:

Repetitive, isolated and superficial studies and research projects have a negative effect: we soothe our consciences by pretending to "study the problems". Hasty analogies and foregone conclusions encourage distorted thinking based on socially acceptable ideas which people omit, or do not want, to analyse. Moreover the **status quo** is concealed behind apparent activity (1987:184).

It is 'socially acceptable' to clear the streets by co-opting children into educational projects; teaching them how to protest for a just society is often less so. Research concerning 'Street children and Education' should be simultaneously trying to improve, yet render redundant the practice in question. But perfecting the process can become synonymous with perpetuating the 'status quo'. Mario Borelli, a notable street educator in Naples, elucidates the problem:

...we try to make a niche of our role. We consider ourselves the moral midwives of the world...thinking to institutionalise our role in permanence. We must know that our role is temporary...We have to help people become healthy and go away (Covenant House 1983:83).

Similarly, concerning North American street children, Kufeldt & Nimmo warn:

There is a risk that the beginning academic interest and emergence of advocacy groups may develop a new type of exploitation...Professionals trying to address such complex issues should be wary lest they, in turn, contribute further to the systematic and spiralling abuse and neglect of the 1980s (1987:540-2).

Sadler provides apposite council:

The educational question is not a question by itself. It is part of the social question. And the social question is at bottom largely an ethical question (in HMSO 1902:23).

The research objective cannot be merely to further a life of projects, programmes, and promises.

#### BASES for COMPARISON (2.5.)

Anderson expresses well the problem of multi-dimensional analysis: 'Comparison between complex societies is, so to speak, logically impossible yet scientifically imperative.'. A study encompassing many countries, relying on historical as well as current data, requires a central basis for comparisons to ensure a consistent approach, and to provide a reminder of the main spheres of influence bearing on policy formulation. Context, in particular, seems frequently to have been a missing factor when replicating European practices in the Third World.

Educational practice can be seen to derive from **ideas**, the articulation of objectives and evaluations, that determine voluntary **actions**, which are effectively reactions to perceptions of people and situations, this, within a mutually determining **context**. The distinctions are arbitrary, but whereas discussion in terms of reformatories or orphanages would tend to reflect actions, talking of correction or institutionalisation emphasises the determining ideas. Some aspects of education can be placed in any of these categories, however, depending upon the form of analysis required. An Education Act might be considered to represent prevailing **ideas**, or to be a social **action**, or to form the **context** of specific analysis, but cannot easily be viewed simultaneously in more than one form. The same phenomenon cannot be considered as an idea and as the context for that idea, etc. Comparison can therefore be seen to entail:

an analysis of the reasons for difference or similarity, pivotal about a defined area of commonality, which is achieved through the observation, in two or more situations, of the interrelationship of **ideas**, resultant **actions**, and mutually determining **context**, where a relevant facet of one of these three components appears generalisably common to both/all situations.

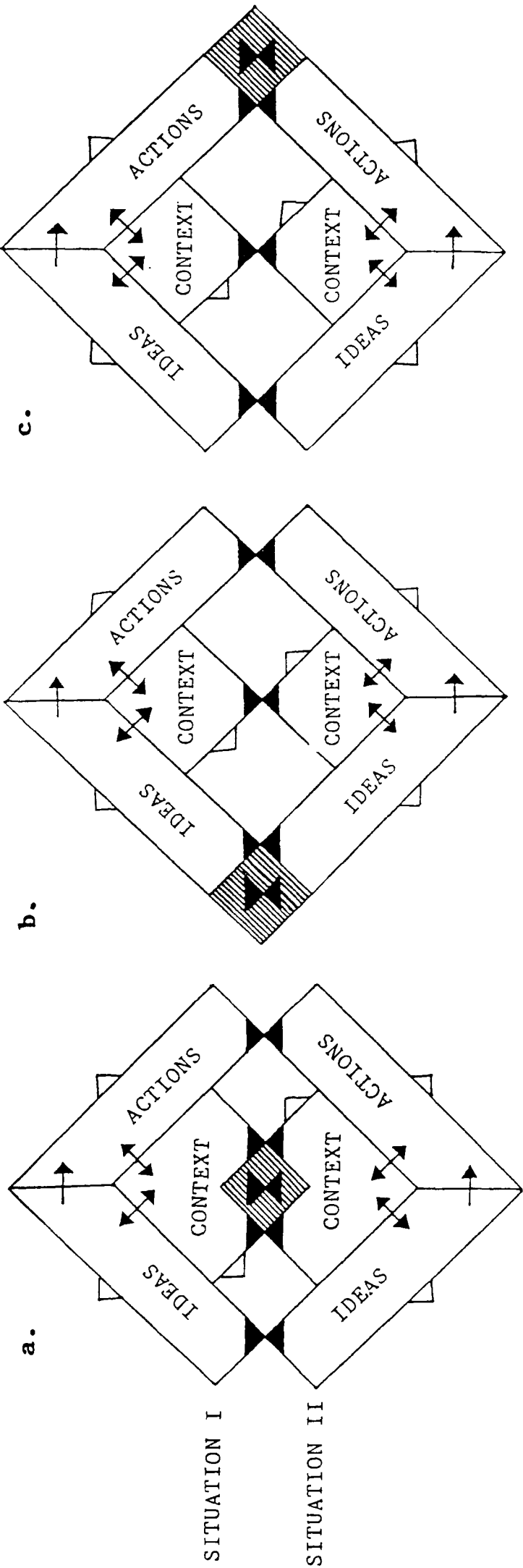
The use of the term **situations** implies that areas of comparison need not be geographical, but may also comprise social phenomena. **Commonality** is viewed as a fixed reference point, not an aspect which is expected to be amended by policy derived from the study, although there could be eventual influence. A comparison between two African states might be based on reformatory provision, but conclusions may ultimately propose that reformatories are totally inappropriate rather than in need of revision on the basis of comparison.

Analysis should extend to peripheral aspects, perhaps modifying preconceived areas of study. For example to ignore a relevant piece of information concerning American Industrial Schools, on the grounds that these are not within Europe or the Third World, would be pedantic.

Fig. 3 shows how this framework is applied in three forms: using commonality of (a)context , (b)ideas, or (c)actions.

Fig. 3.

The BASES for COMPARISONS



analysis of the reasons  
for variance and similarity

awareness of peripheral aspects

determining influences

commonality

The STRUCTURE of the STUDY (2.6.)

The overall framework of the study is based on that proposed by Bereday: **description, interpretation, juxtaposition, and comparison** (1964:28). This has been criticised on the grounds that the first two stages may represent 'the extensive accumulation of data of generally relevant kind [which] is wasteful of time and energy' (Trethewey 1976:103). As the topic of street child education yields minimal literature and few theories and assumptions, the creation of foundations becomes a prerequisite. These preliminary stages will not represent a collection of available information out of compliance, but an ordering of fragments to determine the **development** of a social response which is usually presented as episodic or current. An understanding of this development reveals consequences which can underlie future policy formation. The suggested weakness therefore appears as a beneficial aspect in this instance.

The ordering of the first two stages is slightly amended to permit a more logical chronology. As the European experience is largely historical, it would be incongruous to let the **description** of the 'Third World' response precede the **interpretation** of that of Europe. Therefore rather than:

Europe Description		Third World Description		Europe Interpretation		Third World Interpretation
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the format is:

Europe Description		Europe Interpretation		Third World Description		Third World Interpretation
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Bereday's proposal that hypothesis formulation should be left until after the **description** and **interpretation** stages could result in a lack of focus within the first part of the study. This has been overcome by determining an **initial question** (see 2.1.) which is then affirmed as a hypothesis.

Relating to the model for comparison (2.5.) Bereday's **description** relates to 'actions'; **interpretation** concerns 'ideas'; the **juxtaposition** permits an introduction of the main aspects of 'context'; the **comparison** is based on the relationships of these components as discussed earlier (2.5.). The integration of Bereday's framework and the comparative model with other theoretical perspectives is shown in Fig.4.

#### Description of 'actions'

A study encompassing a wide spectrum of society requires a taxonomy of social relations in terms of what Smith calls 'structural levels' (in Reeder 1977:96). When proposing policy it is crucial to know the **source** of specific actions to ensure that comparisons are of 'like with like'. It would be unsound, for example, to propose that the strategies of an NGO could be adopted without qualification, by a Ministry of Education.

Smith states that 'structural levels...consist of sets of roles within institutional orders...Comparative analysis is possible at any of these levels'. He defines a 'Conflictual interdependence' (p97) between strata, pointing out that 'the same individuals participate in structures at a number of levels from the household [or the street] upwards' (p96). He makes three main points about these levels (p97): (1) they are



Fig. 4.

INTEGRATION of THREORETICAL PERSPECTIVES  
FORMING the OVERALL FRAMEWORK of the STUDY

	PART ONE BASES of the STUDY		PART TWO ACTIONS and IDEAS		PART THREE COMPARISONS and FUTURE RESPONSE
	Chaps. One & Two	Chaps. Three & Four	Chap. Five	Chaps. six - eleven	
Bereday (1964:28)		Description Europe   third world	Interpretation Europe   third world	Comparison Europe>>third world	
Halls (1973:124)		structures,curricula, goals methods of instruction		Goals, structures, methods of instruction curricula	
Holmes (1965:34)		(c)identification, description.....and weighing of relevant factors.....within a given context(i.e.see p43)	(a)problem analysis (b)policy formation	(d)the anticipation or prediction of the outcomes of policies	
(1981:76)	(3) the specification of initial conditions or the context		(1)problem analysis (2)hypothesis/policy solution formulation	(4)logical predictions of likely outcomes 5)comparison of logical predicted outcomes with observable events	
Noah & Eckstein (Treth- ewey 1976:102)	(i)identify the problem [initial] (iv)select the cases (iii)define con- cepts & indicators		(i)identify the problem [affirm] (ii)develop the hypothesis	(vi)manipulate the data (v)interpret the results	
Model for this study (2.5.)	Formulate initial questions (2.1.)	Europe   third world actions   actions	Europe   third w. precedents context   context commonality	Europe >> third world ideas >> ideas actions >> actions context >> context	Multi-dim.comparison re. model (2.5.)

interdependent, (2) the 'variations in degree of complexity and density can increase rivalry and co-operation,' and (3) there exists 'relative dominance vis-à-vis other levels.'

A useful precedent is found in a discussion of **The early history of English poor relief** (Leonard 1900) in which analysis is formulated within five levels: (i) private individuals (p17), (ii) monasteries (p18), (iii) hospitals (almshouses, orphanages, training homes) (p19), (iv) 'a public system of poor relief' (p20), and (v) parliament (Leonard 1900). Similar intent is displayed in a questionnaire concerning 'abandoned children' from **Defence for Children International** which frames its investigation of 'support structures...at the following levels': 'Family, extended family; Neighbourhood/community; Domestic, private (lay/religious)...; State...; International...' (1986:1).

The 'structural levels' for the description of 'actions' are as follows.

1. **Street children:** the adult perception of the children as the determinate of responses, and their role as informal and formal self-educators. This will be extended in relation to the third world to present a fuller understanding of the contemporary social context.
2. **Individual initiative:** personal actions from members of the children's home or host communities, which entail no formalised corporate responsibility. This embraces advocacy, "immoral" tutelage, and home-based endeavours.

3. **Non-government organisations**, as represented prior to this century by 'collective philanthropy', including the church except when it was the representative of the state, and currently by 'NGOs'.
4. **The State**, which will be considered to include: the Roman Church up to the time of Henry VIII and the emergence of the term 'Charities' in continental Europe; the religious polities of the Islamic States. For the purposes of analysis, this group will exclude state departments of education.
5. **State systems of education.**

Categorisation is determined by the 'level' of **instigation and control** of a given situation. Some responses may appear in more than one group: Industrial Schools were **NGOs**; certification brought them within the **state**; some became 'truant schools' controlled by **School Boards**.

#### Interpretation of 'ideas'

Ideas (see 2.5.) are taken to comprise:

- (i) **objectives**, which are derived from an analysis of actions (Fig. 6;19), and reflect changing mores and social theories;
- (ii) **evaluations**, which represent contemporary opinion.

These are examined within four forms of provision which reflect the physical location of the children:

- (i) institutionalisation (orphanages etc., i.e. not 'social institutions');
- (ii) group relocation (emigration, internal relocation), which is not an aspect of the third world response;

(iii) individual placement (apprenticeship, adoption, guardianship), which has no significant educational implications in the third world;

(iv) educational networks: intervention which complements rather than substitutes the original social environment (partial and universal provision).

There are interrelationships between these, for example 'group relocation' can entail adoption and institutionalisation; 'institutionalisation' often perpetuated adoption and emigration.

**Interpretation** therefore entails viewing 'actions' within 'structural levels', in the light of these four forms of provision which relate to all 'structural levels'.

### **Juxtaposition**

The juxtaposition stage concludes the separate discussion of the two areas of study by addressing three questions, which provide the bases for comparative conclusions.

(i) What are the precedents for the present response?

(ii) What is the difference in past and present contexts?

(iii) What is significantly common to both areas of study to facilitate a conceptual framework?

The initial question (2.1.) is then affirmed as a hypothesis.

### **Comparison**

Comparison is within the model of 'actions', 'ideas', and 'context' (2.5.). Philip Coombes suggests that policy making in the 1980s has 'failed to answer three important questions: Education for what purpose and for whom? What different kinds

of education and how much of each? What are the most efficient and effective ways of providing this needed education?' (1985:173) . This prompts final analysis under five headings:

1. Who are "street children?"
2. Why should they be educated?
3. What should be the objectives and how can they be evaluated?
4. Where and when should schooling take place?
5. How are ideals reflected in pedagogical method?
6. Why do ideas not become actions? The question of implementation is addressed by examining how India's 1986 Education Policy relates to the needs of street children, why appropriate proposals remain on the drawing board, and how the lessons from Part Three of the study could develop broad policy statements of this nature.

**PART TWO**  
**ACTIONS and IDEAS**

## CHAPTER THREE

### EUROPE: ACTIONS

This survey of the response in Europe during the past two thousand years, addresses two problems:

- (i) to identify those who equate with our present understanding of 'street children';
- (ii) to identify within the provision of education for unsupported children, strategies relating to street use that differed from those existing for the general urban poor.

Initially it is relevant to determine how those on the streets were seen as being different, and how this influenced their treatment. Lessons concerning the sustainability and source of specific actions derive from an awareness of the development of responses by the state, individual initiative, collective philanthropy, and state systems of education. From this emerges a general picture of successes, failures and impasses which have culminated in present approaches, and an idea of the primary objectives common to these areas of initiative.

#### The CHILDREN (3.1.)

##### The adult view

Before the 18th century, descriptions of those on the streets emphasise anti-social aspects. James I complained of 'divers

idle young people' (in Ribton-Turner 1887:141), and French schools reported those, 'intractable, licentious, blasphemers, quarrelsome, devoted to ill temper, foulness, theft and robbery', in 1666 (in Gutton 1973:124). Writing in 1739, William Maitland reflected a change towards less detached attitudes, probably stemming from a better knowledge of the children facilitated by the London Workhouse:

the miserable and unhappy vagrant orphans known by the infamous name of the **Black Guard**; and whose parents being dead...and being destitute of relations, friends, and all the necessaries of life...[lived] by pilfering and begging about the streets by day, and lying therein almost naked in all seasons of the year by night (Maitland 1739:674).

Not surprisingly, Pestalozzi displayed great intuitive knowledge concerning of the war-vagrant children in his charge at Stanz in 1798.

...some brazen, accustomed to begging, hypocrisy, and all sorts of deceit; others broken by misfortune, patient, suspicious, timid, and entirely devoid of affection. There were also some spoilt children amongst them who had known the sweets of comfort, and were therefore full of pretensions. These kept to themselves, affected to despise the little beggars...Out of every ten children there was hardly one who knew his ABC; as for any other knowledge, it was, of course, out of the question...(p329)...Accustomed to idleness, unbounded liberty, and the fortuitous and lawless pleasures of an almost wild life, they had come to the convent in the expectation of being well fed, and of having nothing to do (p322)...But after a time their better judgement overcame the defiant hostility with which they arrived...Most of them were bright and intelligent, some even remarkably so (p323)(in Quick 1890).

The conclusions display an unsentimental balance of opinion derived from close informal proximity.



A list of Ragged School children in mid-19th century England demonstrates an increasing awareness of the relevance of home backgrounds:

Children of 'convicts', 'thieves', 'the lowest mendicants and tramps', 'worthless drunken parents', 'stepfathers or stepmothers'; children who were 'suitable for the workhouse but living a vagrant semi-criminal life'; those of 'honest parents too poor to pay for schooling or to clothe the children so as to enable them to attend an ordinary school'; 'orphans, deserted children, and runaways, who live by begging and stealing'; 'workhouse lads who have left it and become vagrants'; 'lads of the street-trading classes, ostlers boys, and labourers assistants who would otherwise get no schooling'; 'girl hawkers working for cruel and worthless parents' (in Montague 1904:47).

During the same period Henry Mayhew investigated the causatory factors. His conclusions are remarkably relevant to the current situation.

1. The conduct of parents, masters and mistresses.
2. The companionship and associations formed in tender years.
3. The employment of children by costermongers and others who live by street traffic, and the training of costermonger's children to street life.
4. Orphanhood, friendlessness, and utter destitution.
5. Vagrant dispositions and tastes on the part of children, which causes them to be runaways (1851:468).

Mayhew also realised the limitations of the interviews. Having been assured by two street Arabs of their ability to read, he comments, 'I have little doubt that they could, but in all probability, had either of those urchins thought he would be a penny the better by it, he would have professed...that he had a knowledge of algebra.' (1851:472). He also tested the knowledge of the children and was incredulous to learn of one

that he 'Didn't know when the world was made, or how anybody could do it. It must have taken a long time.'. Presumably had the child said six days, that would have been considered correct. John Garwood's views were less well researched, but he had noted that girls seemed less evident to the public. He concluded that this was because criminal behaviour amongst prostitutes was not brought to public attention:

...the breach of the eighth commandment with girls is so almost universally associated with a breach of the seventh commandment also, that the fear of exposure in the latter particular generally causes those who are robbed to prefer with quietness to submit to the loss (1853:82).

There was remarkable agreement that the children were far from stupid. A visitor to the Field Lane Ragged School in London recounts :

The boys had their wan, vice-worn faces...whilst their ready repartee, and striking original remarks, and the electric light of the eye, when some peculiar practical joke was perpetrated, evinced that intellect was there, however uncultivated or misused. Unless we are greatly self-deceived, we beheld in this unpromising assemblage as good a show of heads as we have ever seen... (in Garwood 1853:56).

Diverse sources of similar remarks suggest that this was more than benign sentiment. Even an Inspector of Prisons concluded of juvenile criminals: '...these boys are singularly acute. They have a degree of precociousness about them which is quite surprising.' (in Garwood 1853:4). Cornwallis determined 'a sharp eager look, which tells of wits sharpened by necessity' (1851:63). This is not surprising. Lord Shaftesbury had noted 'a three-year-old keeping itself alive entirely by its own

wits' (Battiscombe 1974:193). At a time when less than half of English children attended school, Mayhew and Binney ascertained that 63 out of 150 (42%) street youths could read and write (1862:45). Mayhew's general conclusion was that children on the streets were educationally about average: 'Those who may have run away from a good school, or a better sort of home...of course form exceptions. So do the utterly stupid' (1851:474).

Although bright, street Arabs were not seen as totally amenable to school life. Charles Forss reports the introduction of one of his charges to agricultural schooling:

He worked very well for the first hour [digging], and then said he would do no more, as he should be payed for what he did if he were anywhere else - he then began to abuse the general monitor...[he] turned his abuse on me... and [said] that he should bring his brother from the city to thrash me...he lifted his spade to strike me,...(1834:45).

Classroom back-chat was considered pertinent: 'If you were starving and hungry, wouldn't you steal? ...What is the use of hanging Tapping [a criminal]; will that convert him?' (Garwood 1853:56). The problematic nature of the pupils was used to promote the cause. Cornwallis told how 70 boys entered a schoolroom and, 'seeing no physical force capable of resisting them, they at once attempted to carry off every thing worth a penny in the place.' (1851:52). Even in the 16th century similar problems were portrayed. John Howes complained that the children taken from the streets to Christ's Hospital 'would watche duely when the porters were absent that they might steale oute and falle to theire olde occupation'

(1582:39). Conversely, enthusiasm for the ragged school classroom was stressed. Mary Carpenter tells how a policeman was required to be stationed at the entrance - to keep additional candidates **out** (1851:118).

As schooling became more freely available, there was a change in public attitudes towards working children. In the 1880s popular journalism still applauded their streetwise nature, but a decade later such youths were portrayed as 'a flashy type, with a "slang" character, restless and unstable' (Reeder 1977:91). The school drop-outs and failures now on the streets were not seen as imbued with the rough charm and quick wit of their Victorian predecessors.

The emergence of child psychology as a recognised discipline, provided new perspective. In the 1950s, war-vagrants were assumed to be emotionally disturbed, displaying:

- (a) States of anxiety more or less latent;
- (b) Abandonment complexes, with search for compensation and emotional regression;
- (c) Defective education;
- (d) Excessive claims on others;
- (e) Anti-social habits born of war-time conditions, such as theft deception, unchecked freedom of action, etc.(UNESCO 1950a.:32):

A 'morbid sensitivity to any kind of injustice, real or supposed' was perceived in Italy (UNESCO 1950a.:21). As with Pestalozzi's war-vagrants, behaviour was seen to range from 'apathy, indifference and peevishness, or excessive sensitiveness, timidity and a tendency to tears', to 'rowdiness, restlessness, impudence, a desire to tyrannize and

an inability to control themselves.' (p22). Games at the Pestalozzi Village in Trogen were reported to include 'fighting, firing-squads and torture, black-market operations, the secret crossing of frontiers' (ibid:30). Those taken to Scout camps in Greece 'could not believe that they were safe, and preferred to post sentinels armed with knives...Some of them had seen their parents or other members of their families killed before their eyes,' (UNICEF 1951:27).

The education ethic was well engrained. Consequently these children appeared deprived if they were not part of a normal process of schooling. UNESCO reports of one who complained, 'I shan't be free until I have sat an examination and I can begin work' (UNESCO 1950b.:48). Many children were seen to display 'an almost morbid eagerness to resume their studies. They felt they had forgotten everything and urgently demanded teachers and exercises' (ibid:48). Abstract teaching was considered to be less favoured by the pupils than that with a 'real work' component (p49). Their intellectual level again spanned the spectrum. In France, 'Some of the children were intelligent, some backward or of poor intellect, most of them average children.'(UNESCO 1950a.:11).

A more recent study of the Portugese 'Gaiato' echoes the Victorian picture, describing those who were 'illegitimate' (p93), from 'broken families' (p98), 'orphans' (p103), and from 'incapable' or 'inadequate' parents (p106). But the view of their psychological condition reflects the 1970s propensity to apply labels: 'oral fixation, maternal nostalgia,

ambivalent sentiments of aggression and attachment, depression, narcissism, oral sadism, anal tendencies, oedipus fixation, masochism' etc. etc. (Loureiro 1979).

Four character groupings are at present evident.

1. In areas where poverty remains less meritocratically related, for example Italy, a street-wise wit is still reported as in the 19th century. However, Pasolini detects a change, attributable to TV and pretentious schooling, in those around Rome: 'They are clever boys too, but they are no longer sympathetic. They are sad, neurotic, full of petty bourgeois anxiety...they try to imitate the well-off kids' (1976:103).

2. A "Dick Whittington" spirit displayed by young people who may not be academic, but are 'often more enterprising and less apathetic than those who stay behind' (Hardwick in Tyler 1988). Brandon describes those who 'showed considerable courage and resourcefulness...In other settings, these young people would have merited the Duke of Edinburgh's gold award or achieved a single-handed Atlantic crossing.' (1980).

3. By contrast are the 'pushouts and throwaways' who do not have the will to try the big cities. In the university town of Cambridge, "the absolute dregs" living on the streets, have "happy" tattooed across their foreheads (Russell 1988).

4. Also living locally are those pulled to the streets by excitement rather than pushed there by circumstance. For example the 'Crusties' in Bristol: a 'happy band of vagabonds', sleeping rough, from 'all spectrums' of society (BBC 1989a.).

There remains the desire to portray endearing streetwise wit. Stories tell of those who phone-in bulk orders to fast-food shops and then beg for scraps, use clingfilm as condoms, or pose as bar waiters to purloin half finished drinks.

Attitudes are formed by circumstance. How did the public react to the unknown Charlie Chaplin when, in his youth, he really existed on the streets, slept in the workhouse and attended pauper schools? Differently, without doubt, to the response to him in his first acting part, aged 12½, as a street Arab in the play **Jim**, then Billy, Sherlock Holmes' urchin runner, and as the international tramp in **The Vagabond**. Had fate taken a slightly different turn, how would Chaplin the actual tramp have been treated? If the following recount was amongst the court reports of a local newspaper, it would be easy to predict the reaction to a story of wanton youth.:

At the age of 12 abandoned school in favour of the company of prostitutes; at 13 he was on the road selling soap and shaving brushes...graduated to peddling spirits and electrical goods round the Nato bases in the town before drifting into petty crime and spending a short period in prison (Uféras 1989:44).

However, the reaction alters on learning that it is part of a plauditory biography of the successful contemporary French actor Gérard Depardieu, told in a glossy magazine.

There is one area of ignorance concerning attitudes: what did other children think of those on the streets, and what did street children think of one another?

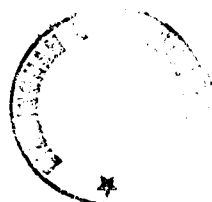
## Self-educators

Whatever the public view of street life, those more directly involved have often considered the pupils competent enough to contribute formally to the process of schooling.

The English Lancastrian schools, which catered originally for the 'ragged classes', applied the monitorial system of pupil-teachers. The idea had been pioneered by Bell when working in a Madras orphanage in 1791. The practice found its way into Ragged Schools. An illustration of the George Yard School in Whitechapel shows a hall of a hundred or so children with three adults, demonstrating a highly organised pupil teacher system (Montague 1904:185). Although perhaps idealised and appearing improbable, children accustomed to age hierarchies on the streets were well suited to organising themselves in the manner of monitorial schools.

The training of older pupils as tutors was frequent. Kay-Shuttleworth describes how, in workhouse schools, 'certain of the more intelligent scholars (especially orphans), who exhibited considerable zeal and interest...were selected from the rest to be trained to the occupation of teachers.' (1839a.:30). Charles Dickens, on a visit to a Ragged School found 'The best and most spirited teacher was a young man, himself reclaimed through the agency of this school from the lowest depths of misery and debasement...' (in Garwood 1853:53).

In the present-day, self-advocacy is more evident. In London a group of young people with experience of homelessness





will visit schools and play a simulation game, '**Street life...** a day in the life of a person who is newly homeless in London' (Housing Support Team 1989). **Shelter** have recently produced a book based on the writings of young people on the streets in Britain. The material was collected by giving out diaries to users of hostels and drop-in projects (1989).

Peer influence is not necessarily desirable by conventional norms. Henry Mayhew notes the activities of ragged school pupils during their lunch-break: '"We taught one another thieving, We liked to teach the young boys best; they're pluckiest...We would teach any good boy to thief"'(1971:13). By the 1950s, self-education within street corner gangs was more formally recognised. Bloch & Niederhoffer describe:

**Education of the novices** - The Corner Boys were being trained and educated in the arts and sciences of the older group. Lulu was chairman of the department of criminology. As part of his course he had the boys on field trips after midnight to give them a baptism under fire...a trial which brought to light the latent propensities to "chicken out" (1958:218).

These two forms of co-tutelage differ in content more than strategy. Both value the mentor, and criminalisation equally represents young people's contribution to the construction of their own futures. A change of content is more readily effected by proposing alternative futures, than by trying to dictate the nature of the curriculum.

## The RESPONSE of the STATE (3.2.)

### Continental Europe

The care of all children seen as devoid of adult supervision fell initially within the ambit of orphanages and foundling homes, which were functionally if not intentionally, preventive of child vagrancy. Separate provision specifically for those existing on the streets developed as an understanding of their different status increased, although the attitude of the state has always been wary concerning those who were not demonstrably without parental support.

Within the early Roman-Christian State Bishops were made responsible for orphans under both ecclesiastical and civil laws. The Apostolic Constitutions (attrib. late 3rd cent.) stated:

Orphans...The Bishop is to have them brought up at the expense of the Church and to take care that the girls be given, when of marriageable age, to Christian husbands, and that the boys should learn some art or handicraft and then be provided with tools and placed in a condition to earn their own living, so that they may no longer than necessary be a burden to the church. (Apost Const.IV,ii,tr.Uhlhorn)

Christianity also decreed that infanticide was unacceptable. Exposing or killing infants became punishable by death in 374AD, which caused abandonment. The duty of caring for resultant supernumerary children therefore fell to the Church. Initially, foundlings were announced at church services, and if not claimed within ten days were awarded to the finder (Uhlhorn 1883:386).

A dual system of institutions emerged. **Orphanotrophia** (orphanages), and **brephotrophia**: 'houses for the rearing of little children, whether bereaved of friends[,] or foundlings' (Uhlhorn 1883:330). The exact nature of the latter is disputed, which probably reflects the absence of precise terminology for unsupported children (see Chastel 1853:272). E.C.Wines concludes that 'Deserted, destitute, exposed children, were in all respects to be cared for as the poor orphans.' (1880:69). Later, oblation, the bonding of children to the church by parents, performed the dual function of preventing abandonment, and ensuring the continuance of the clergy.

Throughout the feudal monarchies, the demand for child labour for agriculture minimised abandonment, although the failure of the Children's Crusade of 1212 left many unattached youth to roam Europe. The monasteries became 'places of refuge and education for orphan and neglected children' (Wines 1880:70). At Trèves Cathedral the archbishop was responsible for foundlings from the 6th century, and Foundling Hospitals existed in Trier, Milan and Montpellier during the 7th & 8th centuries (Herbermann 1911: Vol VI,159). A letter from a monk in 1435 provides a synopsis of the structure at the **Scala** in Florence:

Boys are sent to learn their letters; girls learn womanly things. When the latter become adults, the boys learn a trade which will support them; the girls are married, with the institution providing the dowry (in Trexler 1973:261).

This reflects closely the Apostolic Constitutions.

Not all instruction provided by the Church derived from measures to support orphans or obviate abandonment; it seems probable that cathedral building employed street youth (Vanistendael 1987:9). In the 12th century it is reported that Cistercian monks devised a special training scheme for illiterate youths 'living on the margins of society, without any "human training" ' (Amaré et al 1986:14). The method circumvented the need for a literate grounding by teaching geometry with knotted ropes, measuring poles, and basic tools.

During the mid-16th century, 'when hordes of...children were deserted by their parents and begged in the streets of Florence', the nobility became involved. The Grand Duke of Tuscany opened homes and asylums for them (Trexler 1973:252). Elsewhere in Europe, Louis XIV was forced to finance **L'Hopital des Enfants - Trouvés** from 1670 , and in Venice the Doge instituted the **Pio Spedale della Pietá** (McClure 1981:6). Even in Norway 'Workhouses for the young' existed, and a statute of 1621 'obliged parents to find a useful occupation for children. Public guardians could take over the responsibility for youngsters found unoccupied or drifting' (Flekkoy 1989:307).

Numbers within foundling homes as a percentage of registered births (i.e. the **minimum** number of abandoned children) were remarkably high: late 18th century Toulouse - 20-25%, Paris - 20-30%, Florence early 19th cent. - 43%, in Lyons 1750-89 one third (Boswell 1988:15). This emphasises that within an urbanising environment there is a need for the state to share the burden of supporting the young.

Action from municipal authorities was demonstrated by the city council of Rouen. In 1543 it decided to 'take in beggar-children, both boys and girls, from the age of five, to give them instruction in decency and morality and reading and writing', so that they were 'prepared for service at an earlier age and in a more agreeable manner' (in Aries 1962:291). In Amsterdam, the **Rasp Huis** (est.1595) followed the pattern of the English Bridewell. The **House of Correction of St Michael** in Rome (est.1703), provided the first instance of a reformatory education for children, separate to that for adults. The 'idea of reform by hard work, with wages, education and religious instruction' spread throughout Europe, but the ethos quickly regressed to being punitive rather than corrective (Fox 1952:25).

In France, the infamous Parisian prison **La Petite Roquette**, built in 1832, accommodated five-hundred children between nine and sixteen in solitary confinement. Even by 1846, 'For the most part the boys [were] guilty only of light offences, many only of vagrancy' (TPS 1846:7). The **hospices**, which were under church control fulfilled a similar function to that of the English workhouse.

State provision on the continent became more rational during the 19th century. In the first place observers noted that the greater extent of state schooling was an important preventive measure (see Kay in Hill 1857:84,86). Secondly, the state often undertook direct responsibility. In Belgium, by mid-century, Fletcher reports:

...reformatory schools have been instituted by virtue of a law which applies to the whole realm, and admits to a participation of its benefits every mendicant, vagabond, pauper, or morally-neglected child,...it is boldly attempted to extinguish pauperism in Belgium by the education and apprenticeship of all its mendicant, vagabond, and pauper children;(1852:34).

Fregier noted in France the foundation of **les salles d'asile** 'due to the necessity of protecting young children from abandonment' (in Cornwallis 1851:35). They provided schooling and a meal for poor children aged 2 to 7, were instituted by municipal government, and administered by a 'Committee of ladies...of the highest class'. Crèches also existed.

The war with Prussia (1870-1), however, tripled the number of unsupported children in France (Kientzel & Gosselin 1985:13). A statute of 1889 was necessary to determine the street Arab 'morally abandoned', which removed parental rights (Spearman in Woods 1971:276). The Council of the Seine initiated a number of establishments out of the City for these children. The most notable was the **D'Alembert School** at Montévrain (est.1882) which concentrated its efforts on printing and cabinet-making. But success was attributed to the fact that it catered only for 'the *élite* of the street Arabs'. 'The stupid, incompetent, and refractory youths are carefully sifted out and sent elsewhere.' (p298).

A League of Nations survey in 1934 indicates the nature of state provision during the first part of the 20th century. The need for a continued strategy in Belgium is clear: 'the cost of the maintenance and education of minors under decisions of the children's magistrate in respect of vagrancy

or begging is borne half by the State and the other half by the commune' (p59). Switzerland mentions reformatories for the 'morally abandoned' (p239), and Sweden, euphemistically, was providing '"protective education" for minors who have shown a tendency towards vice, though they have never committed an offence.' (p235). More specifically, the Italian government was funding, for 'minors under 18 who are vagrants[, ]...moral-assistance institutions, or...special reformatories' (p174). In Greece, reformatories, 'agricultural in nature', at Syra and Athens admitted 'boy vagrants and mendicants and girls under 18, who have been enticed into immorality'. Here they were kept until 'of age', in 'semi-liberty', unless claimed by a responsible relative (p156).

Educative social-work now attempts to replace institutionalisation for children who may be susceptible to the pressures of street-life. 'Non-academical education' was recognised to encompass this strategy at a conference organised by **I Problemi della Pedagogia** in 1985 (Marcon 1985:13). The approach formally undertook a 'rescuing role, today its target is to carry out preventive action.' (p16). Since 1972 France has established 'Prevention Centres and Groups', aiming 'at the reinstatement of young people into the social network' (p33), jointly under the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Education (p126). **L'Association Rues et Cités**, started in 1975 in Paris, deploys educators who meet those 'displaced young people' estranged through 'lack of money or for social or ethnical non-integration', 'in the

street, the bar, [and] the gambling room', to prevent resultant 'violence, alcoholism, fits of depression, self-injuring.'(p33). In Italy, the municipal authority of Genova has instituted a number of 'socio-educative centres' (p39) 'as a result of the failure of the scholastic network to satisfy the minor's need' which include 'a social therapeutic one...concerning...school problems, work training and their social integration'.

### Britain and Ireland

The Continental pattern of Church activity existed in Britain during the Middle-ages. From 1276, this was uniquely paralleled in England by the **Court of Orphans**: 'an amorphous area of municipal government' which, for the orphans of freemen, had 'preserved their estates, taken care of their education, placed them in trades, and made them "Matches suitable to their Quality"' (Carlton 1974:101;104). Less wealthy children would have been vagrant except for the actions of the Church. As the the dissolution of the monasteries curtailed this support, responsibility fell to secular authorities.

From the mid-15th century the Chamberlain became the guardian of orphans in the major towns, and it was decreed (Act I Edward VI 1547, C.3) that 'Infant beggars above five and under fourteen may be forcibly taken as apprentices or servants' (Ribton-Turner 1887:91). Church wardens and the Poor Law overseers became responsible for orphans and destitute children in 1597; they could be apprenticed, left at home and



provided with materials to enable labour which would generate income for the family, or put in an almshouse or workhouse. If too young they were boarded out until old enough to be apprenticed (Leonard 1900:219). In Guernsey the school was clearly a place to teach the young vagrant a lesson: 'Children under 14 found begging without the knowledge of their parents were to be taken to the nearest parish school and then whipped' (James I, 1611, 2nd Art. in Ribton-Turner 1887:463). With amendments, this type of legal structure existed in Britain until the 19th century, but was paralleled by the founding of various institutions

A sermon on 'Charity' from Bishop Ridley inspired Edward VI to devise an innovatory three-tier system of poor relief in London. **Christ's Hospital** from 1553, 'for the Innocent and Fatherless, which is the Beggar's Child...where poor children are trained up in the knowledge of God, and some virtuous Exercises, to the Overthrow of Beggary' (Maitland 1756:937); **St Thomas's and St Baltholomews** as hospitals for the sick and disabled; and the **Palace of Bridewell** 'for the correction of vagabonds, strumpets, and idle persons, and for finding them work' (Maitland 1756:981). Initiated and underwritten by the King and the Lord Mayor, the scheme was supported by public contribution.

John Howes recorded the preliminary work of **Christ's Hospital**. Initially, benefactors assessed the numbers of 'ffatherless children of sore & sicke persons of poore men overburdened with their children.' (1582:20). Then,

...they devysed to take out of the streets all the ffatherless children & other poore mens children that were not able to kepe them & to bring them to the late dissolved house of the Grei ffryers wch they devysed to be an hospitall for them where they shoulde have meate drincke & clothes, lodging and learning and officers to attende uppon them. They also devysed that there should be provision made to kepe the sicke from the whole...because they feared leaste through the corrupte nature of the children whoe being taken from the dounghill mighte infect another...(p11)

380 children were collected; 'sucking children & suche as for want of yeres were not able to learn' (p12) were housed elsewhere, which confirms the educational nature of the Hospital. Provisions included 'featherbedds, coverletts, shetes, blanckets, sherts & smocks' (p42). Unprecedented luxury for the children. The notion of parental responsibility was firmly stressed. In 1556 a pilloried women bore the inscription, as a lesson to others, 'Whipped at Bridewell for leaving and forsaking her child in the streets' (in Allan 1937:7).

Within 13 years a scholar from the school had entered Oxford (Bennet in Blunden 1953:7), and sight was soon lost of original intent. By 1676 it admitted only orphans. Christ's Hospital now eschewed those 'that are lame, crooked, or deformed, or that have any infectious disease, as the leprosy, scald head, itch, scab, or that have the evil or rupture' (in Allan 1937:9). It rapidly became one of the most prestigious schools in England.

The **Bridewells** were required by law in every county by 1576. The belief that labour was corrective of vagrant inclinations was pre-eminent. To this end, the invention of

'foot-mills' and 'hand-mills' by John Pain in 1570, was considered a great step forward: 'If they were lame in their Arms, then they might earn their living with their legs; if lame in their legs, then they might earn their Living with their Arms' (Maitland 1756:981). As **Christ's Hospital** had eluded its responsibility for mendicant children, they ended up in the Bridewells. A report of 1631 indicates the functioning of the **London Bridewell** in this respect:

...there are maintained in clothes within the said hospitall one hundred and sixe apprentices, poore children most of them taken out of the streets...Four silk weavers who doe keep poore children taken up from in the streets or otherwise distressed as their apprentices number forty-five (p354) (Dom. State Papers, Chas.I.Vol.190.10 in Leonard 1901).

By 1650, age determined the type of provision. The Parish was to provide for 'children under five years of age, who have no dwelling, or cannot give an account of their parents'; 'those which shall bee found under stalls, having no habitation or parents (from five to nine years old), are to be sent to the Wardrobe House' [formerly the Queen's wardrobe]; older than nine they were sent to the Bridewell (Ribton-Turner 1887:159). William Maitland describes an enlightened Bridewell system in 1765:

And to this Hospital are sent several Youths as Apprentices to Glovers, Flax-dreffers, Weavers, etc who there reside; and there are clad in blue Doublets and Breeches, with white Hats. Having faithfully served their time of seven Years, they have not only their Freedom, but also ten Pounds each, towards carrying on their respective trades, and many of them, from nothing, have arrived to be governors themselves (p981).

Subsequently, Bridewells were built adjacent to gaols, and became barely distinguishable from them (Fox 1952:24).

William Maitland documents the **London Workhouse** in both editions of his **History of London** (1739;1756). Deemed 'partly a Hospital, and partly a house of correction' (1739:673), it accommodated 368 of London's 'Black Guard'. Created by Act of Parliament (14 Car II) in 1662, it was run by the President and Governors of the Poor for the City of London. By 1704 its staff included 'four physicians' who donated their services, a 'writing-master', a school mistress', nine 'teachers' and a 'singing master' (1739:674). A report of 1710 concluded that poor children were 'not only kept from Perishing for Want, but from Pilfering, and turning Vagabonds and incorrigible Rogues, and made useful Members of the Community.' (in Maitland 1756:820).

In 1739 Maitland complained of a demise in its endeavours due to lack of public support (p673). By 1752 the criteria for admittance had changed; the officers were 'taking into their Care such Children only as are committed by the Magistrates of this City, found begging in the streets, pilfering on the Keys, or lying about in Glasshouses, and other uninhabited Places' (1756:820). Maitland records the daily routine of the workhouse at this time:

[They] are educated according to the Usage of the Church of England and are taught to read and write, Part of the Day being appropriated for that Purpose; the rest of their Time is spent in weaving Nets for the British Fishery, Sewing Knitting, and other Labour, by which they are qualified for Service and honest Employments, and put forth Apprentices or Servants (p821).

At a Guildhall dinner 11-year-old John Trufty was permitted to announce his gratitude to Queen Anne, for those:

...who are now teaching our little Hands to work, and our Fingers to spin. We are all daily employed on the Staple Manufacture of **England**, learning between times to be useful to the world.

Later versions of the workhouse were less benign. By the middle of the 19th century 'the workhouse school, in which the orphan and deserted children are placed out of daily observation...[had become] a mere sink of idleness and sloth...' (Fletcher 1852:39). J.P.Kay reported that 'whatever instruction the children received has been given by paupers', and formulated a plan for schooling outside of the workhouses (in Pollard 1956:216). Vagrant children found themselves in the 19th century workhouse more by default than intent: '...the "strays" discovered by the police on their beats, and consigned, for the present to the workhouse, and never owned' (Greenwood 1869:2). In 1804 a 12-year-old who displayed the discernment to abscond from a Norfolk workhouse school was for three weeks padlocked in an iron collar with a yoke extending 15 inches on either side, whilst chained to one leg was a wooden weight two feet long (Salmon 1932:45-6). Charles Dickens satirised workhouse education in **Oliver Twist**: "Well! You have come here to be educated, and taught a useful trade,...So you'll begin to pick oakum tomorrow at six o'clock." (1838:28).

Provision improved in the second half of the century; many children attended the District Schools. Training

available in 1858 appears more promising: 'carpentering, tailoring, the nature and use of a steam engine, shoemaking, spade labour, music to fit boys for the bands of the army and navy, cooking, baking, sewing, daily work, laundry work, and house work' (Chance 1897:19). By 1897, 'boarding out', 'cottage home' and 'isolated home' systems were in operation (Chance 1897:135). Only 63 workhouse schools existed in 1882 (Walvin 1982:117) and by 1912 '2/3 of a million' Poor Law children were in elementary schools (Phillips 1912:209).

There is little doubt that most of the students at of the prison schools came directly from the streets. Mayhew and Binney list 'spinning a top...stealing a guinea pig...[and] going into Kensington Gardens to sleep' as offences committed by such children (1862:416-7). Children as young as six were reported to have been hanged. Stealing a pair of shoes could result in this punishment (Pinchbeck & Hewitt 1973:352). One writer complained of schooling in jails, as 'diluting wholesome severity...Imprisonment should be of **unvaried gloom**, without communication with friends, without the distraction of labour, without the exhilaration of exercise.' (in Manton 1976:98). Despite this, a print of the schoolroom at Tothill Fields gaol shows an impeccably ordered class of about forty boys with two teachers (Mayhew & Binney 1862:363). The children are well dressed and the room is heated. Of interest is a set of enlarged dominoes hung along the wall. This seems to be a teaching aid derived from the boy's former life-style: dominoes would have been a favourite pastime on the streets.

From 1857, British parliamentary Acts determined that vagrant children should be sent to Industrial Schools which were private, but grant-aided and inspected by the Home Office. In 1861, a Select Committee Report on the 'Education of Destitute Children' examined at length the provision for the 'ragged class', and duly determined to do nothing. A report of 1866 reflects the extent educational provision, by the government, for non-delinquents.

...the Council has no power to provide out of public funds any industrial or other school for children found begging or wandering - or to maintain any such children when sent by the Justices to any such school, which must be maintained entirely upon the voluntary system, with a Government contribution if the Secretary of State sees fit (Weinberger in Hurt 1980:75).

The state had decided that street children should be accommodated, but omitted to provide the accommodation. There were other legislative inconsistencies. Parents were culpable if children were determined as 'truants' (1874, 1876, & 1880 Acts), but the children were punished if found to be 'vagrants' (1857, 1861, 1866 & 1876 Acts). Consequently the Rev Waugh proposed:

In any new measure we must reverse the antiquated and unjust practice of regarding the little vagrant as the law-breaker...Had the truancy principle...been operating...how many of that eleven thousand child-wanders and vagabonds which the School board has sent from London streets to the State Industrial Schools might have been in their own homes today? (1888:831).

The government eventually increased its control of the Certified Industrial Schools and the Reformatories, which were merged to become **Approved Schools**. This marked a regression to

a system which did not differentiate between delinquents and the destitute. Later, approved schools accommodated those 'committed by the courts as being in need of care or protection, beyond control, on account of truancy, or otherwise as "non-offenders"' (HMSO 1961:8).

Since the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, local authorities must arrange care at re-styled **Community Homes**. The inadequacy of schooling at many of these prompted the House of Commons Social Services Committee to describe being 'in care' as an 'educational hazard' (HMSO 1984). Juvenile street-crime has become more violent and offences related to motor vehicles are outnumbering simple theft. **Intermediate Treatment Centres** (IT) provide an alternative to custody. Education, training, social skills, and personal construct models form a basis for the strategy; working with motor vehicles is often an attempt at a relevant curriculum (see Davies 1989:15). Contact is usually on an individual basis, and children may be permitted to undertake part-time employment. In effect, offending becomes the means for some young people to gain an appropriate education. If state schools could achieve this, criminalisation might be avoided.

Within Europe, state endeavour has rarely been a direct ideological response to the needs of children. It represents a reaction, to the attitudes of the populace, and to its own error.



### INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE (3.3.)

Three forms of individual initiative have been evident: promoting the cause - educating others about the children; immoral education - the exploitation of individual circumstance; and domestic endeavour - home-based benevolence.

#### Promoting the cause

Educating to alter the attitudes of the majority, founded on individual awareness, has been a major reason for change in the general response.

The arts have often complemented beneficent actions for indigent children. Paintings adorning the **London Foundling Hospital**, Hayman's 'The finding of the Infant Moses in the Bulrushes' and Hogarth's 'Moses brought to Pharaoh's Daughter', placed the benefactors within an eminent tradition. Gustav Courbet's talent for social commentary was brought to bear in his painting **Charity of the beggar at Ornans**: it shows an adult vagrant giving a coin to a begging child (Burrell Collection). Cruikshank displayed icy satire in his cartoon 'Our gutter children'. He depicts local worthies with brooms and shovels clearing children from the gutter into a rubbish cart: "There are many plans for providing for the neglected children...but none such a Sweeping measure as this." Pictures contrived to heighten awareness of street life and social inequity permeated the Ragged School Union magazine (e.g. RSU 1850:224).

Music was also a vehicle for advocacy. The 'Poor Outcast Children's Song and Cry' appeared in 1653 as a protest against the failure of the Corporation of the Poor to assist the vagrant children of London:

Grave Senators that sit on high  
Let not poor English Children die  
And droop on Dunghills with lamenting notes,  
An Act for Poor Relief they say  
Is coming forth; why's this delay?...  
(King's Pamphlets 669,f.16-93 in Leonard 1900:273)

On a more sophisticated level, G.F. Handel, as a benefactor of that institution, wrote the **Foundling Hospital Anthem**, which amounted to candid commercial: 'Blessed are they that consider the poor...'.

Whether literary portrayal was primarily a philanthropic endeavour or opportunistic recognition of popular sentiment is unclear, but this does not diminish its influence. Charles Dickens was prolific concerning the ragged class in his magazines **Household Words** (e.g.1850a.:549; 1850b.:361), and **All the Year Round** (e.g.1869:305). Of his fictional output, it was not only **Oliver Twist** (1837-39) that provided accurate impressions of the overwhelming odds against lone children. In **Bleak House** (1852 - 53), Little Jo the crossing sweeper was so realistic that Street Arabs themselves used to read his story avidly (Collins 1963:83). His work was paralleled in France by Victor Hugo's portrayal of Gavroche in **Les Miserables**(1862), which helped to finance the author's personal philanthropic endeavours. Some authors aimed to develop an awareness of social inequity in the well-off child. For example Mary Belson's **The Orphan Girl** (1819), in which the heroine gives up

toys in order to pay the school fees for six orphan girls. In verse, William Wordsworth depicted:

...ragged offspring, with thin upright hair,...  
Shrivelled are their lips;  
Naked, and coloured like the soil, the feet  
On which they stand, as if thereby they drew  
Some nourishment, as trees do by their roots,  
From earth, the common mother of us all.  
...but outstretched hand  
And whining voice denote them suppliants  
For the least boon that pity can bestow.  
(in Guthrie 1847:3)

Later, a less erudite but extremely perceptive ditty was used in an appeal for the **National Children's Home**:

Poor little scaramouch, homeless and sad.  
Ragged little scaramouch, dirty and bad,  
Father gone to prison, mother in her grave,  
Vice and crimes learnt betimes; who is there to save?  
"In the streets all day, Sir"; yes, but where at night?  
Where he goes no one knows; somewhere out of sight.  
Stupid little scaramouch, neither reads nor writes,  
Stands up for himself though, lies and swears and fights.  
(Bradfield 1913:95)

Poetic contributions also appear extensively throughout **The Ragged School Union Magazine**. The tale of a well-off child imploring its parents to succour two waifs is typical:

...That they must starve, or beg in the street,  
No cloak to their backs, or shoes to their feet,  
While I am so finely clad... (RSU 1853:17)

Direct social commentary was more overtly political. Sir John Fielding (the 'blind beak'), and his half-brother Henry, author of **The history of Tom Jones, a foundling** (1749), made initial attempts to change public attitudes towards juvenile street crime. Whilst serving as a magistrate, Henry concluded: 'these deserted Boys were Thieves from Necessity, their Sisters are Whores from the same cause; and having the same education as their wretched Brothers, join the Thief to the

Prostitute.' (in Ward 1978:57). 19th century efforts to spread awareness across the social divide is displayed in a title from John Garwood's **The Million Peopled City, or, one-half of the people of London made known to the other half** (1853). One newspaper protagonist, Mrs.Cobbe, became so well known to the Bristol urchins that they nicknamed her 'Cobweb' (Montague 1904:370). Lord Ashley (Shaftesbury) focussed British parliamentary attention on the ragged classes in his speech, 'Education and the working classes' in 1843 (in RSU 1880:123). Mary Carpenter also presented an educational perspective:

...children who grow up **untaught** and **uncared for**...do not owe restitution to Society when they have infringed its laws, which they have never been taught...Society owes restitution to them for **having** left them in this condition (in Hart 1880:32).

In the 20th century individual advocacy has usually been part of a corporate effort. The efforts of Pasolini were, however, individualistic. His book **The Ragazzi** (1954) provided a vivid portrayal of street life in Rome; **Lutheran Letters** (1976) contains a perceptive discussion of the changing nature of slum children. Urchins not only acted in his films, but were also presented at fashionable gatherings: one who could throw a cigarette in the air and catch it in his mouth was a favourite (BBC 1988c.).

The list of those who publicised the problems of street existence displays one omission: the children. Producing cartoons, pictures, poems, and stories provided a sense of purpose for the adults, but rarely for the those who were supposed to be the beneficiaries of the exercise.

### "Immoral" education

The philanthropic educators considered immoral influence to be socially divisive, and the result of a deliberate process. Cornwallis concluded, 'It is a great mistake to suppose that because reading, writing, and other usual school knowledge has been withheld, that therefore no education has been given.' (1851:114).

Specific "schools of crime" were of great concern. The classic example was reported by the Fleetwood Recorder in 1585 and documented by William Maitland:

There [near Billingsgate] was a School-house set up to learn young boys to cut purses. Two devices were hung up; one was a Pocket, and another was a purse: The Pocket had in it certain Counters, and was hung about with Hawkes-Bells, and over the Top did hang a little Scaring Bell: The purse had silver in it: And he that could take out a Counter without any Noise, was allowed to be a publick Foyster [pick-pocket]: And he that could take a Piece of Silver out of the Purse without Noise of any of the Bells, was adjudged a judicial Nyper [pick-purse or cut-purse], according to their Terms of Art (1756:269).

Similar "schools" were reported in the **Annual Register** for 1756, classes were streamed, progressing from picking pockets, to pilfering from shops, and finally breaking and entering (in Garwood 1853:12). Hill saw the paradox of the situation: 'At Aberdeen...some receivers of stolen goods actually copied the system of the Industrial Schools, took in destitute children, and fed and trained them, but to evil instead of good.' (1856:11).

The teaching practitioners of the organised street gangs were known as 'kidsmen', and their methods were not necessarily totally exploitive. Manton mentions one who 'On

special occasions he would take the children round to the pub for a school treat of beer and skittles.' (1976:8). It is not surprising that many bright youngsters preferred this atmosphere, to undiluted liturgy and catechism on offer at the local National School. Most alarming to the polity was the fact that prisons also provided more than adequate opportunity for such tuition. An adult convict recounts how, on his first visit to prison, a seven-year-old was immediately taught to pick pockets by two others, 'practising his skill on almost all the other prisoners.' (Osborne 1860:11).

An assessment of the situation in England in 1856 concluded that

between 20,000 and 60,000 children are now being educated in our streets in habits of idleness, and a knowledge of vice, whence they will graduate, enemies to themselves and curses to the community, and enter upon careers of debauchery and crime (in Kaestle 1973:115) .

The language clearly reflects the identification of a deliberate educative process.

The exploitation of talented street youth became a cause for concern in Britain in the 1870s. Children were taken from their poor parents in Naples and taught to sing and play a musical instrument by 'Padroni'. They then worked their way through Europe to London where they were distributed about the country, through a well organised network, to work as street musicians. The Padroni appropriated the takings (Ribton-Turner 1887:303).

"Media influence" was also disturbing to some observers. Cornwallis was bothered by the 'Gaffs, a rude sort

of theatrical entertainment...[at which] the subjects are chosen from the the adventures of thieves etc,...There can be no question that these places are no better than so many nurseries of juvenile thieves.' (1851:27). He instances boys in prison who had been tempted to crime by these shows. One admitted 'I noticed them picking one another's pockets upon the stage. It gave me a great insight into how to do it.'(p32). Cheap literature such as the **Newgate Calendar** was also viewed as an undesirable influence (RSU 1950:219).

At the present time the influence of the 'Camorra' in Naples is of concern (Comm.St Egidio s.a.:10). Children between the ages of 9 and 14 are given presents and introduced to petty crime and eventually drug dealing. The final stage of initiation is the gift of a gun. The Camorra exploits disorder, succeeding because it provides a social structure. It often monopolises street trading, and it is ironically concluded that 'the Camorra is the only organisation capable of doing something about the tragic situation of a city that has 350,000 people unemployed, albeit that it does this in its own way.'(p12). The Mayor of Naples is equally pragmatic: 'How can we possibly close down the black economy? It would be like closing down FIAT in Turin' (in Moorehead 1989:38). In Sicily the Mafia have even reportedly financed a new orphanage (Lewis 1989:26).

Countering the disordering influence of immoral tutelage became a primary aim of the philanthropic educator: 'to train a child out of bad habits and into good' (RSU 1849:12). This

was to concentrate on undoing the past rather than on creating the possibility of an alternative future. By contrast, criminal tutelage succeeds because it creates order within the lives of disorganised and confused children: it provides a means of building a future irrespective of the past.

### Domestic endeavour

Domestic initiatives were doubtless inspired in part by the knowledge that they provided an alternative to immoral training. More importantly they represented a non-divisive reaction which did not alienate a child from a home community or institutionalize a social phenomenon.

The central example was the Portsmouth cripple John Pounds, who is said to have taught over 500 children in his Portsmouth cobbler's shop until his death in 1839 (Montague 1904:38). The boys learned shoe-making and girls cookery, 'while reading, writing and arithmetic in which they were thoroughly grounded, stood for education' (p41). Food and clothes were provided if necessary. Pounds also recognised the need for "outreach" in his work: 'He knew of the love of an Irishman for a potato, and might be seen running alongside an unwilling boy with one held under his nose.' (p39). Similar ventures in the 1830s are recorded by Cornwallis: a Mrs Fletcher 'gathered out of the streets at Laytonstone thirty or forty poor houseless, neglected children, taught and fed them'(1851:48). Charles Dickens also went beyond literary support, helping 'to succour and educate various waifs and strays who he had come across.' (Collins 1963:75).



Even under the banner of the RSU personal endeavour was pre-eminent. A blacksmith in Birmingham taught 80 pupils in a loft over his shop, and a chimney-sweep in Windsor used the earth floor of his shed as a schoolroom (Montague 1904:212); a 15-year-old girl started classes for those too dirty to attend the local National School (Battiscombe 1974:195). Similarly in Germany, Pastor Wichern and his mother were noted for taking in 'three outcast boys' to 'train and save' them in 1833 (RSU 1852:44). Later pupils included a twelve-year-old convicted of 93 thefts (Carpenter 1851:335).

A deliberate exercise in outreach was displayed by Quintin Hogg, an old-boy of Eton and great grandfather of the present Lord Hailsham:

"I cast about to know how in the world I could learn the language of these boys, and ascertain their real wants and their ways of life. I bought a second-hand shoeblack's suit, also a box...With this I used to go out two or three nights a week for about six months, blacking boots and sleeping out with boys,...My real object, of course, was to learn how the boys lived...and how they could best be reached" (in Montague 1904:250).

From teaching reading to two crossing-sweepers in the Adelphi arches, his ragged school grew into the foundations of the English Polytechnic Colleges (RSU 1904:171).

During and after World War II there were doubtless numerous instances of modest but remarkable personal charity. At St.Remy de Provence for example, two teachers accommodated children regardless of nationality, and educated 'Spanish exiles... French and German orphans...[and] Later Polish and Czech homeless children' (UNESCO 1950c.:11).

Since the 1950s established charities have generally subsumed individual actions. But Mario Borrelli, like Quintin Hogg, adopted the guise of a street-dweller in order to learn more of the street children of Naples (Borelli 1968:138):

As an urchin I could...blow my nose in the gutter...scratch myself in all possible places without anyone knowing or caring...wander through notoriously vicious and dangerous spots...my rags for my passport.

Occasional instances still demonstrate an unconditional human response. In 1985 *Le Monde* reported the lone efforts of 52-year-old Joel Weiss, who experienced street-life as a Jewish war-refugee when a child. He now counsels Parisian street youth in his spare-time (Frappat 1985:11).

Domestic endeavours evolved into philanthropic organisations; professionalism took the place of personal charity. Whilst individual actions held communities together and usually succeeded because the children were active participants, organised philanthropy isolated a pre-defined group who become passive recipients of predetermined futures.

#### COLLECTIVE PHILANTHROPY (3.4.)

Collective philanthropy derived from all levels of the social spectrum, and was a remarkable catalyst for co-operation between unfamiliar classes. From small-scale endeavour emerged large institutions, and most notably the Ragged School Union. These found need for co-operation with the state in the form of legislation, funding, and inspection.

## Continental Europe

On the continent, church provision was perpetuated through hospices such as those of the Charités of Lyon, and Sainte-Etienne (est.1679). Vagrant children were taken by the Lieutenant of Police or the hospice 'archers' to what was effectively a 'refuge and prison'. An uninspired system provided for youngsters up to their first communion or 'until instructed in religion', after which they were apprenticed or put into service (Gutton 1973:25;204).

Whilst the hospices sheltered the 'pitiful', the very young, and orphans, the fee-paying 'petites écoles' were providing a number of free places for other indigents. A register in 1690 described specific pupils as 'vagabond par les rues', and 'libertin par les rues' (in Gutton 1970:124). They were not permitted to mix with other students but sat apart, 'thus constantly reminded of their shame' (Pollard 1956:5).

The fee requirement of the petit écoles precipitated the free Charity Schools in the mid-17th century. The motivation of three priests at Autun is recorded:

Every day we see idlers and vagabonds in the streets, who, not knowing how to do anything but eat and drink and bring poor children into the world, produce these swarms of beggars which are so much trouble to us...Christian schools would put an end to this state of affairs (in Aries 1962:292).

The teaching of writing at the free schools was considered a threat by masters of the petite écoles and by the

calligrapher's guilds (Pollard 1956:6). The schools were criticised if they exceeded meagre instruction, but introduced the idea that popular education should be conducted in the vernacular rather than Latin. By the end of the century the Charity Schools had forsaken their beneficiary class. One inspector complaining that he 'did not find the filth and the rags of the poor beggar-children of whom the priests say they are composed.' (in Aries 1962:293).

De La Salle founded **Les Frères des Ecoles Chrésiennes** in 1682 who, according to Pollard, 'were the first people to devote their energies exclusively to rescuing those children...who wandered the streets of French towns,' (1956:7). Rendu records their work early in the 19th century with 'children, not able to go to ordinary schools, living as wanderers and vagabonds in the streets,' (1839:7). Joseph Kay reported that the Brothers were educating nearly two-hundred thousand children throughout Europe, Canada and Turkey. The rules of teacher conduct display sensitivity, but infer temptation:

They must not: at any time give to their scholars any injurious epithet or insulting name...strike their scholars with hand, foot, or stick, nor to push them rudely...pull the ears, hair, or noses of their scholars, nor fling anything at them (in Kay 1846:65).

Disclosures of the abuse of immigrant orphans in Australia this century have culminated in the description of The Christian Brothers there as 'Sadists, pedophiles, and psychotics' (Grant 1989).

In 1799, Pestalozzi opened a school for war-vagrant children in an old convent in Stanz (Quick 1890:315). Here he formulated many of the principles which were later fundamental to the national systems of Europe. His friend, de Fellenberg, was at the same time experimenting with an agricultural school for similar children in Hofwyl which provided a model for many subsequent institutions (Fletcher 1853:10). Like Pestalozzi, Count Von Recke of Prussia saw the plight of war-vagrant children in 1816, who 'had become absolutely savage, living, when unable to gain any sustenance by begging or stealing, on wild herbs and roots'. He 'renounced the pursuits and pleasures belonging to his station in life, to devote his time, his fortune, and his talents,' to their care and education (Carpenter 1851:331;330). This was not an isolated example of concern from the nobility. In Denmark, Count Holstein created an 'agricultural asylum for morally-endangered children' on the Island of Seeland, in 1834.

Private beneficence burgeoned towards the middle of the 19th century. Of the institutions for juveniles, the 'Agricultural Penitentiaries' were for convicted children, and the 'Agricultural Reform Schools' for 'Young Paupers, Mendicants, Vagabonds, Orphans, and Foundlings, Deserted Children, and those who are in Moral Danger'(Fletcher 1852:7).

In Flanders the **Fermes-Hospices** were instituted to counter the "auction", as bonded labourers, of elderly paupers and 'The orphan child... after being examined like a horse or a Negro slave...' (Fletcher 1852:8). A similar system of

bonding by the state was challenged in Switzerland (p10). By 1880 Belgium also had two 'non-governmental preventive establishments' for 'Idle, vagrant, and viciously inclined children - not yet criminal, but in peril of becoming so.' (Wines 1880:362).

In Germany, the personal endeavours of clergyman August Herman Franke culminated in a Poor School, an Industrial School, an Orphan School in Halle, an asylum for travelling beggars, and a training school for teachers. By 1841 Germany boasted twenty schools for 'moral orphans' (Fletcher 1852:15). The ethos of the **Reform Schools of Rural Industry** in Wurtemberg was of high morality:

Many children, even of tender years...have contracted shameful and secret habits, which it is necessary to eradicate at any sacrifice...religion comes powerfully in aid of advice...and no means are spared to effect a sincere and lasting reformation. (p22)

The **Rauhen-Haus** near Hamburg grew into a campus of buildings 'grouped in a picturesque manner in the midst of surrounding gardens...several...erected by the children themselves,' (Fletcher 1852:25). Living in groups of twelve with a "brother" in charge, there were no physical constraints and the children had their own savings bank (p28). 'Boys take a little more than 4 years to reclaim them; the girls 5 years and a half.' (Ibbotson in Hill 1857:124).

In Denmark the **Benevolent Society for Deserted Children** provided a refuge in Copenhagen (Fletcher 1852:18). Wines noted an institution in Holland which inculcated morality through a 'sentence system'. Displayed and repeated were

numerous homilies: "A poor man is he who has nothing but money"; "He is a fool who lives poor to die rich"; "Labour has a golden bottom". At the death of a boy's parent, a consoling text would be hung on the wall. As a punishment for bad language, "It is better to be dumb than to use the tongue for filthy talk" was to be read at morning meeting for eight days; 'It had the desired effect' (1880:402). Having located one 'little agricultural colony for vagrant and neglected children' in Norway, Wines comments, 'Not much has herefore been done...in the way of child-saving work. But the "dry bones" begin to move even in that field' (1880:524).

Of Italy, Wines notes reformatories for the 'idle and vagrant'. The parents were charged for the service if they themselves placed their children in an institution for correction (1880:484). The RSU acknowledged mission schools throughout Spain. One in Madrid boasted a pupil so redeemed that he 'went without his chocolate at breakfast for seventeen days, and ate dry bread alone - to buy a Bible' (1871:85;270).

France demonstrated the most sophisticated development of **Agricultural Colonies**. At their apex was the **Colonie Agricole et Penitenciaire** (est. 1839) at Mettray. It provided an alternative to prison for boys under sixteen; those not amenable to its efforts were simply returned to **la Roquette** prison (TPS 1846:7;46). The institution was divided into 'families' in separate houses (p11), with elected monitors (p14). General regulation was within 'a military system' (p13) but corporal punishment was forbidden (Carpenter 1851:327). It

was fundamental that 'the boys be continually occupied, and thoroughly fatigued' (TPS 1846:17). The fifteen hour day was 'entirely devoted to labour', except four hours of meals, recreations and prayers; 'education' occupied one hour (p22). 'Amusements' were to be 'useful': life-saving, fire-drill or how to rig ship. Chess and library use were permitted on wet days (p19).

Whilst the **Boys' Town** in Belgium (est.1917) embraced a new perspective of 'self government', in other instances, 19th century paternalism extended into the 20th century. The **Casas do Gaiato**, in Portugal, has since 1939 remained firmly grounded in 'une pédagogie de la reconversion...inspired by a Christian conception of living, from love for stray children and a trust in the "reconversion" of them' (Loureiro 1979:21). Other organisations display continued adaption. **Les Orphelins Apprentis d' Auteuil** in Paris developed from an individual act of charity by l'Abbé Roussel towards a single vagrant child in 1866, which subsequently provided for the war-vagrant children of the Franco-Prussian war. It now assists 3,800 children and youths through a highly sophisticated network of 28 'maison d'accueil' [homes of welcome], 25 schools and lycées, 30 trade schools and 4 holiday centres.

The most significant response from non-state organisations in the 20th century followed the Second World War. In 1949 the UN reported (p1):

In many European countries, thousands of ragamuffins have emerged from the war wreckage, youngsters who buy and sell on the black markets, who pilfer and beg and roam the streets by night looking for adventure: a legion of adolescents, morally and physically abandoned by humanity.



Organisations emerged, 'most of them housed in cellars, ruined buildings, tents or abandoned military barracks' (UNESCO 1950c.:2). In Lanciano, a priest found 'a gang of 20 ragged homeless boys' sleeping on stray dogs for warmth, in ruined stables. After arranging sustenance, they set about painting their "home" with 'gay floral designs' and created workshops to provide income and to make clothes from old U.S. army tents (UNESCO 1950c.:6). At a **Boy's Town** in Rome, relevance seems to have been paramount: the curriculum included wine-making (Staudacher 1963:85).

'Self-government' was often a central principle, with elected 'councils', 'mayors', and 'judges', and internal banking systems (UNESCO 1950a.:50). Individual cottages or 'scattered homes' were favoured rather than the 'dangerously unnatural conditions' of 'single unit' institutions (p42). Eventually forming UNESCO's **Federation of Children's Communities**, Don Antonio Rivolta of Rome provides a definition:

...not a reformatory or a concentration camp; neither is it a school with a life based on traditional principles and rules. The Children's Village is a free community of boys governing themselves by democratic methods (UNESCO 1950a.:9).

The ultimate intent of post-war effort was not to isolate the children. A UNESCO statement advised, 'As the children are restored to social life, they should leave the Children's Communities and be placed in families or schools.' (UNESCO 1950a.). For those whom reintegration was not possible, the Pestalozzi Village at Trogen perpetuated the UNESCO vision,

embracing fourteen different national schools. The unbiased teaching of history was central, stressing 'the powers which serve for peace among the nations' (Buchanan 1951:28). British boys were unimpressed: "I prefer to go to school in England. You don't have to work so hard." Although at the forefront of internationalism, consistency with local mores was seen as more important than using the children to promote female emancipation: 'For the girls there is a training which can be regarded as specially feminine: domestic science, cutting and dress-making, laundry work...they have a daily training in home-running, needlework, cooking and gardening.'.

Advocacy was central to UN efforts. A pamphlet entitled **A child named Marika...the fate of 340,000 Greek refugee children**, extended the message of unity to the European boundaries. It encapsulated the fears underlying the UN effort: 'Their morals and their characters are going to suffer very much and that is going to produce an enormous amount of troubles in the near future' (UNESCO 1949b.8).

Probably the most widely known project to continue since the war is that of Mario Borelli in Naples; documented in **Children of the Sun** (West 1957). Following a period living on the streets, Borelli founded **Casa dello Scugnizzo** which provided board, lodging and schooling. As the project evolved, it was realised that parents viewed this as an easy option, and it estranged the children from their natural homes. Consequently, since 1969 it has formulated an integrated attack on social problems rather than restricting its

attention to the street children (Inter-NGO 1985a.:56).

**Les Equipes d'Amitié**, which also derived from post-war endeavours in Paris, have evolved a 'street educator' approach:

With the knowledge and connivance of the local authorities, outreach teams identify and approach youngsters and offer them a succession of short-term manual jobs, such as unloading lorries, work on building sites, or in home decoration. The youths are paid, but work is not carried out under the official legal conditions normally required of the employer and employee...In order to preserve the relationship, the educators avoid referring to their true function and do not operate from any office (Inter-NGO 1985a.:16).

In Italy, where bureaucracy would inhibit this style of approach, pilot schemes for 'educatore da cortile' [courtyard educators] are now operative.

### Britain and Ireland

In Britain, from the close of the 17th century, the **Charity Schools** under the aegis of the **Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge**, presented an alternative to the state workhouses. Catering for children 'abandoned to the wilderness of their own nature, like brutes of the earth without any knowledge of God or Christ' (Watts 1728:12), they were criticised in 1723 for attempting to 'breed up beggars to what are called scholars' (Trenchard in Jones 1938:87). Maitlands' list of 'Free and Charity Schools within the Bill of Morality' describes a familiar pattern: at Charterhouse School 44 boys were 'fed, clothed and taught'; at the Quakers' Workhouse School 40 boys and 20 girls were 'clothed, fed, and taught, and five pounds given to each of the boys when put out

apprentices.' (1756:1274-6). As the demand for child labour increased towards the middle of the 18th century, the need to keep children off the streets diminished. In the words of the indomitable Mrs Trimmer, the **Charity Schools** eventually accommodated those destined for 'the superior stations of humble life' (1829:16).

In Ireland, as the efforts of the Catholic Church denuded the Protestant schools of pupils, the Incorporated Society was authorised by statute in 1750, to remove children from the streets to the nearest **Charter School**. As mendicants would generally have come from the homes of the Catholic poor, conversion was implicit. In the 19th century, the **Connemara Orphans Nursery** was founded to accommodate those orphaned in the wake of famine and cholera. They were viewed by the protestant mission as 'growing up in ignorance and sin, and if taught anything, schooled only in the system of iniquity and idolatry in which the victims of popery are enslaved'. Whilst at the orphanage, 'These dear children are not only sheltered from evil, but trained in the knowledge of God,' (Dallas 1854:39).

A concern for girls in London was displayed early in the 18th century by Sir John Fielding. He proposed a 'preservatory' for those on the streets aged between 7 and 15, to train them as domestic servants, and eventually founded an orphanage for deserted girls and a reformatory, **Magdalen Hospital**, for prostitutes (Mitchel & Leys 1958:243;237). Later, with Jonas Hanway (inventor of the umbrella), he

instituted **The Marine Society** specifically to train street boys to become officer's servants (Owen 1965:15).

Thomas Coram's **Foundling Hospital** aimed, in 1739, to deter parents from permitting 'Children to perish in the streets, or training them up in idleness, Begging, or Theft' (Maitland 1756:1294). At first it was 'an Hospital for the Reception, Maintenance, and proper education of such exposed and cast-off children as may be brought to it', but survival became contingent on a change in legislation necessary to permit large-scale charitable funding. This forced the hospital to restrict its intake to illegitimate children with mothers of previous good character. It relied upon its prestigious social status. Hogarth opened London's first art gallery within the precincts on the expectation that viewing paintings **and** foundlings would be irresistible (McClure 1981:66).

By 1800 the level of education of the children was far better than that received by their peers; their literacy rate was almost 100% (p224). The Hospital eventually included a music conservatory inspired by Charles Burney's visits to Europe (p230). It was proposed that additional choristers could be sought from the Charity Schools and Workhouses. A good voice might have been the vagrant child's passport to a prestigious post at the chapel. Hymns were especially written for them (p232):

Left on the worlds bleak waste forlorn,  
In sin conceiv'd, to sorrow born,  
By guilt and shame foredoom'd to share  
No mother's love, no father's care,...

**Coram's Fields**, the original site of the Hospital, is now 9 acres of open land in the centre of London, which must remain for the use of children. It provides a meeting place for parents and estranged children, some of them runaways via the **Children's Society**, and a place where children in overcrowded accommodation can do their homework.

The 1800s espoused numerous philanthropic endeavours. Central to this movement was **The Philanthropic Society** (est.1788), which initially provided 'a sanctuary for poor children who had been committed to prison, and who were received into this asylum when discharged.' (Ricardo 1850:6). Aware that intervention prior to a term in gaol was more effective, the Society was by 1846 admitting the 'friendless, and vagrants...innocent of serious and repeated guilt, although on the threshold of it', direct from the courts as an alternative to imprisonment (TPS 1846:29).

At their inception, the **British and Foreign School Society** (Lancastrian Schools) attempted to absorb 'ragged' children within a general educational provision. According to Mary Carpenter, speaking in 1861, they 'used to provide for this class, which is now provided for by ragged schools...As the Lancastrian Schools changed into British Schools, and the education was greatly improved, so as to be adapted to a higher class, those schools ceased to receive the ragged class.' (Commons Rep. 1861:129). At other general schools a preventive function was never far from mind. A Scottish 'normal' school proposed that homework was useful 'in keeping

them from the streets in the evening, and thereby preventing them in a great measure from falling into bad company.' (Crowe 1843:741).

In the 1830s Capt. Brenton created the **Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy** (later the **Children's Friend Society**), 'to reclaim the neglected and destitute children that infest the streets of the metropolis' (Forss 1835:23). By 1834 it had established **The Royal Victoria Asylum** for 50 girls, and the **Brenton Asylum** for 124 boys which included:

boys of respectable parents who are reduced in circumstances, and orphans of ditto;  
boys neglected and deserted by their parents who have gained a living on the streets;  
boys from workhouses who...have volunteered to emigrate  
boys from houses of correction...shewing signs of penitence, (Forss 1835:24)

Children were in classes according to 'Moral character' not 'extent of acquirement' (p20), and instruction included swimming, geography, geometry and astronomy. The Asylum marked the first instance of a proper education as preparatory for emigration. The Society ended as a result of a press campaign and a Commons report (1840) questioning the methods and motives for sending the children to the Cape. Concern was also expressed that 'several of the children...mixed with the coloured population, and that some did not attend any place of worship' (Ricardo 1850:13).

Education for emigration was continued by others. The **Little Gutter Girls Home** provided a three month training in domestic work for 4,000 candidates prior to life in Canada (Heasman 1962:102). Dr Barnardo's and other major orphanages

later perpetuated the idea on a large scale with reception schools to consolidate life in the colonies. The Fairbridge School in Rhodesia deliberately aimed to encourage white settlement through inculcating the affluent white lifestyle as a contrast to the options in England. A former pupil reports, it 'had gardens and a swimming pool. There would be boys and girls, talking, chatting, playing games, lots of laughter' (Melville 1989:20).

Robert Raikes, a prosperous printer from Gloucestershire and part-time teacher at a Bridewell, was a principal figure in the development of Sunday Schools. He recorded his motivation in 1784 (in Carpenter 1851:112):

...I was struck with concern at seeing a group of **children wretchedly ragged, at play in the street**. I asked an inhabitant whether those children belonged to that part of town [the poor district]...said the women, 'on a Sunday... the **street is filled with multitudes of these wretches**, who, released on that day from employment, spend their time in noise and riot... and cursing and swearing in a manner so horrid as to convey an idea of hell rather than any other place.'

Raikes was not a benign schoolmaster. Boys were sometimes pinioned between the front legs of an upturned chair to be caned, and a few children had 14 pound weights on their legs to assist their presence (Avery 1975:55).

By 1825 the **Sunday School Society** was reaching 275,000 children (Taylor 1969:59). 'Cheap Repository Tracts' provided 'a combination of reading-made-easy and sacred truths' (Avery 1975:65). These were complemented by works such as the repository rhetoric of 'The Sunday-Scholar's Gift' which was



overtly corrective of street-life (p69):

Each Sabbath morn she rose betimes  
And dress'd her clean and neat;  
Nor ever utter'd naughty words,  
or loitered in the street.

A Sunday School, opened in 1816 by David Stow for Glasgow vagrants was, by 1837, providing a curriculum broader than that of the Scottish elementary schools, for a thousand boys and girls (Pollard 1956:218). The upgrading of such schools had become general. Consequently a group of Sunday School teachers, meeting in 1844, 'observed with regret the many children that are excluded from the regular Sunday or Day school, in consequence of their **ragged and filthy condition**,' (Carpenter 1851:118).

By 1847 Thomas Guthrie had formulated popular ideals in **A plea for ragged schools; or, prevention better than cure** (1847), and the plethora of individual enterprise had culminated in the **Ragged School Union** (RSU) in 1844. Although Lord Ashley (Shaftesbury) was its president, it was originated by 'a clerk, a woolen draper, a dealer in second-hand goods and a city missionary' (Battiscombe 1974:195). The **London City Mission** had provided, from 1835, a vital prerequisite of ragged schooling: outreach. William Locke, Secretary of the Ragged School Union, admitted that the Mission 'had been exceedingly useful to us from the very first, not only in finding scholars, but in helping to establish schools, and in getting the goodwill of parents towards us and our operations.' (in Garwood 1853:21). The RSU magazine is perhaps

one of the most noteworthy aspects of the Union. It was effectively a professional Journal including papers, field reports, pedagogical discussion, poetry, pictures, and a 'Children's Corner'. 'Ragged Churches' were also instituted in London - ragged souls apparently demanding a separate evangelical syllabus (Bartley 1870:384; RSU 1878:94).

A lucid contemporary definition of the 'Ragged School' comes from Chamber's Edinburgh Journal:

A 'Ragged School' is a Sunday-school established by private benevolence in a City district of the meanest kind, where almost every house is worn-out and crazy, and almost every tenant a beggar, or, perhaps, something worse. A school, moreover, in which no children are to be found who would be admitted into any other school; for, ragged, diseased, and crime-worn, their very appearance would scare away the children of well-conducted parents; and hence, if they were not educated there, they would receive no education at all (in Garwood 1853:54).

It was reported that they 'extended from Sunday schools to evening schools,...to day schools; we endeavour to place out children as soon as possible...into situations, or to draft them to better schools, or to make shoeblacks of them, or in some way to raise them in life.'. Schools resulted from individual initiative; RSU funding was determined by an evaluation of local circumstances and the school's continued efficiency (Commons Rep. 1861:3;11).

Within the RSU, J.McGregor instigated the Shoeblack Society for visitors to the Great Exhibition. Benefits to urban nomads and civilization were thoroughly reconciled: 'Numbers of London waifs and strays have been rescued from idleness and crime, and metropolitan pedestrians deprived of

any excuse for being dirtily shod' (Book of Days 1869:ii,180). In Scotland William Quarrier extended the idea to encompass a 'News Brigade' and the 'Parcel Brigade', eventually forming 'The Industrial Brigade Home' (Gammie 1952:56-58).

A former missionary recorded the problems of his work as a Ragged School teacher:

No school can possibly be worse than this. It were an easy task to get attention from savages; a white man's appearance would ensure him some sort of regard; but here...we are the representatives of beings with whom they have ever considered themselves at war (in Carpenter 1851:60).

Corporal punishment was eschewed, but Cornwallis, having witnessed a lesson, reports (1851:51):

Some of the teachers used great violence, and when the boys saw blood flowing from one of the boys, in consequence of one of the teachers holding him so tight by the neck, I could see and hear that they were urging one another to the attack.

Nevertheless, in view of the movement's longevity, it can be assumed that general teaching problems did not exceed that of Thomas Hound's reading lesson:

"But I say unto you that in that day it shall be more tol-de-rol"  
"tolerable you mean"  
"tol'ble for Sodem and Tomorrer"  
"Gomorraah, boy..."

Not surprisingly, the RSU encompassed a 'worn out teachers fund'.

Unrepentantly Bible based, the RSU was by 1870 allying itself with Ragged School 'missions' throughout the world. However, in 1880, Mary Hart (p34) recorded Mary Carpenter's

concern 'that even Ragged Schools had not succeeded in reaching the lowest outcasts of the population. As their teaching and organisation had slowly improved, they had attracted scholars of a higher grade than those for whom they were intended.'.

The Industrial Schools traced their roots to that set up by Sheriff Watson in Aberdeen. It demonstrated the efficacy of a practically minded individual of social standing. Initial efforts failed to reach the 'habitual juvenile beggars and petty theives'. So in 1845 Watson persuaded the Police Authorities to fund teachers for an institution of a 'lower grade', a source of support which remains a unique example. On the first day the police rounded up 75 beggar children and deposited them at the new school. The result: 'Confusion and uproar, quarrelling and fighting, language of the most hateful description,'. At the close of the day the children were allowed out, and told that they could attend or not, but that begging would not be tolerated in the future. 'The next day the **greater part** returned!' (Hill:1856:9).

The distinction between Ragged Schools and Industrial Schools was originally blurred (Bartley 1870:382). The former, although entitled to a State grant from 1846, were generally privately financed and admitted children without formal criteria. Their scholars resulted either from 'personal application...[or] by the teachers going round and seeking for them' (Garwood 1853:21). Industrial schools became, from 1857, the Certified Industrial Schools, receiving grants from the

State. Their pupils included: 'Those who are apparently under fourteen years of age, and who have been sent under a warrant from a magistrate or two justices, on account of - Begging or receiving alms in the streets. Having been found wandering about without proper guardianship or home. Having been found destitute, either as orphans, or the children of imprisoned criminals. Having been found in the company of reputed thieves' (Bartley 1870:246).

Following the provision of compulsory free schooling some Industrial Schools were dubbed Truant Schools; children could be committed for truancy by a magistrate (Standard 1882:2). The 1908 Children's Act reiterated that a child 'found wandering and not having any home or settled place of abode or visible means of subsistence' should be sent to a such a school (Sec.58,b). Day and boarding facilities were provided; parents were required to finance their children, if able.

The Reformatories, inspired largely by Mary Carpenter's book on the subject in 1851, were also privately established but under Home Office jurisdiction. These were 'limited to children who have been convicted of an offence punishable with imprisonment or penal servitude' (Bartley 1870:254). The first part of the 1900s saw widespread use of the system. 'Wandering in city, begging' was sufficient for a four year sentence. Other criteria were arbitrary: an 11-year-old could receive five years for 'Theft of 3 apples, value 1d'; a 15-year-old received the same for 'Rape of girl under 13 years' (Rimmer 1986:115;111). Redundant sailing ships became floating

reformatories. They provided excellent training for an otherwise unobtainable career at sea, but corrective methods regressed far below Mary Carpenter's ideals. One ex-pupil describes:

"I was stretched across [the flogging horse] with my legs and arms tied with canvass straps so that I couldn't move and my duck pants were pulled down...the corporal birched me on my bare buttocks...my bottom, cut and bleeding all over...was like a white-hot ball of fire and I stood in front of the ships company, weeping and squirming with the pain and humiliation" (Rimmer 1986.118)

Bartley, writing in 1870, predicted that when the Education Act of that year was implemented and 'the so-called ragged children receive regularly the benefit of sound and useful instruction in those hours now devoted to idleness and mischief in the streets, the aspect of our large towns...will be vastly changed.' (p390). Yet almost simultaneously the major charities supporting and educating actual or potential street children were considered necessary: the **National Children's Homes** (est.1869); **Dr Barnardo's Homes** (est.1870); the **Church of England's Waifs and Strays Society** (est.1881); the **Orphan Homes of Scotland** (est.1878). Educational provision within these evolved to the point at which schooling was little different from that of other children. By 1936 the schools in the Scottish homes, for example, were staffed and administered entirely by the County Council Education Committee (Gammie 1952:122). Emigration continued from these orphanages until the 1960s (Wagner 1981:60).

The RSU, meanwhile, had changed its emphasis to night schools for the working youth aged 14 - 18 who had not

profited by the new educational system, and **Youth Institutes** providing reading rooms and a cheap cup of coffee. At the end of the century the **Shaftesbury Club for Street Boys and Working Lads** offered 'Patching classes' (mending boots and clothes), found employment, defended youths in court, and arranged emigration. In a modified form, the club still exists. The **National Association of Boys' Clubs** (est.1925) perpetuated this work. The diminution of their directly educative role had a brief reversal during the Second World War. In 1939 'the emphasis switched to education and the promotion of the Service of Youth became a recognised State endeavour', but by 1953 the Ministry of Education viewed them as again on the 'fringes of education' (Dawes 1975:171). Many clubs still receive DES grants through the Youth Service which is itself seen to be in general demise, although work concerning drugs and HIV/AIDS is providing a new purpose.

**Barnardo's** (formerly 'Dr Barnardo's Homes') and **The Children's Society** (formerly the 'Waifs and Strays Society') now run Intermediate Treatment Centres for those who might otherwise be in custody, and various residential units for those without adult support. At the present time, children in non-custodial private care will normally attend a local school.

Other educational work concerning youth on the streets aims to negate the glamorous image of street life, and heighten public awareness of the problems of homelessness. The **Children's Society** produce pamphlets, 'Running Away', in the

form of a school workbook, teachers notes, and a parents guide (1986). The message is clear concerning prostitution, drugs, HIV/AIDS and the problems of living in a big city alone. For the parents there is particular reference to the possibility of sexual abuse within the family causing runaway behaviour. The effect, however, may be to suppress symptoms rather than to deal with causes. More broadly, a development education publication from Oxfam (1987), aimed at schools, encompasses many issues within the theme of 'Homes and homelessness'. Articles range from the 'Drop-in centre' for Peruvian street children, to 'Ujima', a housing association in north London. The message is presented as applicable to the broad spectrum:

...if you can pay, you will probably have somewhere to live...If you don't have money, it's a different story. You might be reduced to living on the streets...You will probably also have to face unfriendly comments from other people...How would you answer them?

Although collective philanthropy encouraged cooperation and consensus between adult social groups, most endeavours isolated a class of children from their peers. Similarly, whilst charitable work provided a unique avenue for women to work on an equal footing with men, boys and girls were rarely allowed to mix. This denied them a normal aspect of socialisation available to children in families. Montague concluded that philanthropy complemented 'Woman's struggle for a fair equipment in life' (1904:111), yet in Thomas Coram's Foundling Hospital there were even separate mortuaries for boys and girls.



Almost without exception, charitable endeavour departed original objectives in search of an improved pupil profile. Inherent, seem to be mechanisms that encourage illusory success through appearing to upgrade a defined class of children by, in reality, eliminating those who do not fit notions of the ideal product. Providing for orphans and foundlings from an age at which they are malleable was easier, and more worthy, than working with belligerent street gangs. This failing underlies the need for universal provision which is obliged to accept all children.

#### STATE SYSTEMS of EDUCATION (3.5.)

Britain during the second half of the 19th century provides a focus for examining the inclusion of street children within an emergent national system of education. Street Arabs became prolific as child labour was superseded by technology. Juvenile crime was rife, and child convicts could no longer be transported. Religious squabbling had deferred the formulation of a state educational system, whilst on the continent free schooling was considered to have lessened child vagrancy.

England did not lack a philosophy for mass schooling. In the 17th century John Locke had proposed a universal system of Schools of Work so that 'The children of the poor, from the age of three to fourteen, should be lodged, fed, clothed, and put to work...' (Morgan 1853:7). William Pitt presented the idea to parliament in a Bill of 1796, but, undecided between the merits of uneducated versus educated masses, the

initiative failed. By the mid-1800s the government inspector Joseph Kay became adamant that universal schooling was a solution to the problems of street existence:

...children are saved from street life throughout central and Northern Europe...under the influence of respectable and well educated teachers (p84)...Surely such an institution [a school] is better than either prisons or reformatories. They have chosen the one we have preferred the other in Hill 1857:84,86).

He had ascertained that in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, 'No children are left idle and dirty in the streets of the towns - there is no class of children who frequent our "ragged schools"' (Kay 1850:1).

The Ragged School Union maintained that its objective was to integrate pupils into a general schooling system at the earliest opportunity (Commons Rep. 1861:6). Charles Forss, director of the **Brenton Asylum**, had earlier been equally clear concerning the eventual solution for the mendicant children in his charge (1835:8):

...we shall never see a well-working system of universal education, for the humbler classes, until it is taken under the care and support of the government...[voluntary efforts] are all very good as local establishments, but what we want is a universal system.

Charles Dickens was similarly an advocate of state provision (see Collins 1963:70).

In retrospect, commentators also relate the inception of state education to the problems of the 'ragged' children. Dr Barnardo was unhesitant in 1893 maintaining 'that the

Education Act of 1870, which has been extended into the great boon of free education, is due to the ragged schools, and is indeed but an extension of the ragged day schools' (in Montague 1904:241). Marion Phillips, from a less partisan position writing on **The school as a means of social betterment**, agreed in 1912 that 'the whole system of national education has been reared on the foundation of the Ragged Schools, whose avowed object it was to draw children away from the fascinating mystery of the streets' (p207). The same sentiment was expressed concerning Germany where the philanthropic endeavours of August Franke led Ibbotson to conclude that 'a great part of the plan of education in Germany was derived from [this] one source...and show what the energy of one man can do when well applied' (in Hill 1857:120).

These comments may appear to disregard complementary factors, but nevertheless street children must have constituted a significant portion of the expected clientele of the proposed state system. The question therefore arises, what strategies were formulated by the educational planners to accommodate this known entity in 1870?

Twenty years earlier, Mary Carpenter had firmly concluded that the street Arab was unlikely to attend a general school (1851:33-4). Poverty, a ragged appearance, malnourishment, and an anti-social disposition were to be catered for in her scheme of education by a three tier structure, free **Day Schools** to obviate the excuse of general poverty; **Industrial**

**schools** proving social support to those who 'subject themselves to the interference of the police, for their vagrant and pilfering habits'; and **reformatory schools** for the more criminally inclined (1851:38). A memo from a conference at Birmingham in 1851 had specifically advised the Committee of the Council on Education of this formula (NAPSS 1874:337). A government select committee had also taken consummate evidence, from Mary Carpenter, Sheriff Watson and others central to ragged school education, concerning 'The education of destitute children', in 1861 (Commons Rep. 1861). Despite this knowledge, the 1870 Act made no special provision for those existing on the streets within the elementary system. Not surprisingly, an inspectorate report three years later stated:

I am led unwillingly to the conclusion that the Arab class of children as they are called cannot be reached by the powers and provisions of the Education Act as it now stands, or by the purely instructional machinery which it recognises (in NAPSS 1874:338).

Still in 1887, the Cross Commission reported a 'residuum': 'even board school teachers do not like to take shoeless, shirtless, and capless children into schools.' (in Lawson & Silver 1973:439).

Only slowly were appropriate measures introduced. Compulsory attendance legislation was permitted locally from 1870 and was national by 1880. This was **before** schools became virtually free in 1891, and yet school fees were known to inhibit attendance. Free school meals, hitherto the starting

point of the education of indigent children, were eventually introduced, but not from benevolence. They resulted from a report in 1903 of the Physical Deterioration Committee's concern about the low level of health amongst recruits for the Boer War (Fraser 1973:137). Mary Carpenter was specific that 'no punishments of a degrading or revengeful nature...[should] ever be employed' (1851:87). The Ragged and Industrial Schools were clear that corporal punishment was useless and destructive. Charles Forss (1835:13) of the **Brenton Asylum** was lucid:

...flay a boy and tell him it is for his good, and he will hardly believe you; but treat him like a rational being, tell him his faults, and explain the sad consequences if he persists in them, and he will then reflect and call reason to his assistance.

Board Schools permitted such punishment. It has taken over a hundred years for the state to attain the ideals successfully demonstrated by the teachers of the 'vicious' and 'dangerous' children of the 19th century.

In 1876, Mary Carpenter's persistence forced an amendment which obliged the School Board to maintain Day Feeding Industrial Schools, although only three existed by 1880, and referral was still via the courts (Hart 1880:35). A report of 1907 notes the management of approved 'Industrial and Truant Schools' by the School Boards, but in 1906 only 257 children were accommodated by these institutions in London (Howarth 1907:325-6). A recount in 1901 suggests other perfunctory measures:

The School Boards have attempted to introduce as leaven the Evening Schools, flashing lanterns in their faces, encouraging recreation, abolishing fees, making lessons simple and easy, prepared to adopt any expedients if by any means they might come (Masterman 1901).

Finance can be no excuse for inappropriate provision: Britain was considered to be amongst the richest nations at this time.

The problems of accommodating street children within a formal educational structure were defined, deemed soluble in practice, and conclusions were known to the government. In full cognisance, no relevant measures were included in the formulation of the 1870 Act. The government was surprised that children were still on the streets, and belatedly inched its way backwards towards a more appropriate socio-educative structure which had otherwise existed since the Romans.

In this century, Italy appears to provide the only instance of appropriate state provision. The **Scuola Citta Pestalozzi** in Florence, was opened in 1945 within the public system. It abandoned

the routine and discipline of the traditional school, so as not to make them feel too keenly the break with an existence, full of snares, humiliations and sufferings, but not entirely devoid of attractions; and to adopt in these educational centres methods and habits born almost spontaneously in the course of the children's vagabond life (UNESCO 1950a.:16).

The corrective approach was fresh:

As little as possible is said of civic and moral duties; but the school's life has been so arranged that children, continually, coming up against necessity which imposes these duties on us, find themselves obliged to conform to them (UNESCO 1950a.52).

The school's 'courts' and 'councils' were not seen as panaceas for juvenile self-rule, but effective 'if they are competently directed by an educator with a sound heart and head,'.

In contemporary Europe, the divide between educational and social services is bridged in only a few instances. In France, amongst Social Workers are the 'educative professions', co-ordinated by the Ministries of Education and Social Affairs (Marcon 1985:126). Denmark is perhaps nearest to a socio-educative structure under the auspices of a Ministry of Education. Here the 'socialpadagog' works in youth centres and in centres for maladjusted youths (p148).

In Britain, the DES funded Youth Service supports detached workers who work with young people on the streets advising about HIV/AIDS, drug misuse, welfare rights and other personal problems (see HMSO 1987). Strategies entail: (i)distraction, keeping youth off the streets through recreation, and quasi-educative pursuits; (ii)discussion, open debate about alcohol and drugs misuse with 'at risk' groups; (iii)participation, the formulation of educative material by young people to use with their peers (HMSO 1989:4).

Universal provision has been the main agent for bringing young people together in a manner that does not deliberately exclude a specific group. However, even putting internal school dynamics aside, its custodial nature functions against social harmony in two ways. Firstly it insulates children from interaction with the urban environment. Secondly, it reinforces alienation between children and adults in the

general community. "Children on the streets" has become a wholly negative image. By contrast, a third world city is teeming with young people who are an integral part of its functioning. We do not question that the European pattern is seen as more desirable.

#### DEVELOPMENT and SUSTAINABILITY

##### WITHIN the EUROPEAN RESPONSE (3.6.)

Provision which has fulfilled complementary educational and welfare needs for children seen as unsupported, has permeated the history of European urbanisation. This has usually been followed by some form of transitional structure prior to self-reliance, in the form of assistance to find employment and partial support during the initial period. Practice which has not recognised these inter-dependent elements has met with minimal success.

A sermon on Charity Schools from Bishop Butler in 1745 acknowledged the education/welfare symbiosis when he stated that in addition to basic Poor Law support, there was 'need also of some particular legal provision on behalf of poor children for their **education**; this not being included in what we call **maintenance**.' (in Quick 1890:148). Charles Booth's ultimate conclusion concerning the amelioration of poverty in 19th century London also reflects the duality (1902:201):

...there are two distinct tasks: to raise the general level of existence, but especially at the bottom, is one [welfare]; to increase the proportion of those who know how to use aright the means they have is another...[education]



Gutherie was equally clear that street children could only be helped 'by making their maintenance a bridge and stepping stone to their education.' (1847:17). UNESCO perpetuated the theme concerning war-vagrants:

Before we try to teach children of the world about brotherhood and the right of man, we must feed, clothe and care for them. It is useless to talk of democracy to the starving child. If, however, he is fed and given clothes and a home, these things will teach him something about brotherhood...(1950:439).

The welfare/education relationship was also fundamental to the "schools of crime".

Support for conspicuously abandoned children, orphans and foundlings, extended to include those who were considered 'morally' abandoned. Exigency stemmed from three main factors: periods of economic inequity (not simply national poverty), as in Victorian Britain; periods of famine, for example in Ireland; military conflict, as after the Franco-Prussian war. The phenomenon became latent when the demand for child labour was high, and less evident when juvenile crime was countered by transportation or mass imprisonment.

There has been no overall progression in the development of initiatives. The response might be seen to have commenced with the preventive strategies of the Roman state, and regressed to extreme depths of punitive activity in first part of the 19th century. The Ragged schools represented integrated non-institutional networks which reflect current development thinking, but this was then followed by the amorphous, repressive orphanages of the major charitable organisations.

State inspired structures have tended to degenerate, whereas non-state initiatives have often displayed endemic "upward mobility", both entities consequently abandoning their original aims. The Charity Schools and religious foundations quickly favoured a "better" class of child, frequently becoming élite serving; Bridewells and Workhouses became punitive as opposed to benign institutions. As state involvement with English Industrial and Reformatory schools increased, so too did their harsh treatment of children.

The significant innovation towards the end of the cycle is the provision of free universal education, eventually with a welfare component, and widespread adoption and fostering. Irrespective of other problems, the development of state schooling has not demonstrated the failings of other responses. Provision has remained universal, and the punitive disposition has been moderated. Whilst structurally state schooling is the most successful educational means of unifying the children within a community, the internal dynamic remains divisive. Consequently schools have been unable to negate a recourse to detrimental forms of street existence completely, and Europe now seems to be entering another era of street children, albeit on a small scale.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### EUROPE: IDEAS

Intervention from the Roman/Christian state emerged at a time when unwanted children were killed, or exposed in a public place to be kept by their finders and trained as gladiators, prostitutes or slaves (Uhlhorn 1883:186). What were the objectives of providing formal care for those seen as devoid of parental support? Do these reflect altruism or self-interest? How did education relate to primary aims? What were the outcomes according to contemporary opinion?

The response to vagrant, mendicant, and itinerant children derived from that for unsupported children. These were viewed in two categories: orphans, emanating from a natural, indisputable cause affecting all classes, and; "surplus" young created by economic circumstances or estrangement, of whom the definition is arbitrary. The distinction is reflected in the two Roman institutions: **orphanotrophia** and **brephotrophia**. Fig. 5 suggests how early social codes provided the rationale for the response to these groups, and how provision for "street children" can be seen to have emerged from this. Any doubt about the contribution of an educative process to this provision seems answered by the etymology of 'pupil': **pupillus, pupilla** - orphan, ward.

Whilst specific forms of action can be seen to have emerged at a particular point in history, central ideas appear

**Fig. 5.SOCIAL PERCEPTION of, and RESPONSE to "STREET CHILDREN"**  
**DERIVED FROM THAT CONCERNING "UNSUPPORTED CHILDREN"**

	UNSUPPORTED CHILDREN					
Cause:	natural (death of parents)			economic or estrangement		
Social status:	orphan			"surplus"		
Basic community response:	kin obligation;			infanticide; exposure; abandonment; kin support		
State response:	Church provision orphan-ages	Guardianship; fostering	Bonding: apprenticeship; adoption	Emigration	Church provision: foundling homes	
Rationale:	Bible; Apostolic Constit.	Plato Hamurabi Justinian	Hewbrew law children viewed as "property"	Plato	Hewbrew law: infaniticide deemed immoral	
"street children"						
Percieved status:	actual or assumed orhpans			actually, partially, or 'morally' abandoned		
	"in need of care and attention"					
State, NGO and indiv. response	adoption & fostering; emigration; apprenticeship bonding; institutional provision (benign & punitive); domestic initiatives (benign & "immoral"); support networks.					

timeless. Plato's LAWS were prescient of the issues concerning urban young. Orphans were to be supported by 'guardians', overseen by state officials, but education was to be no different to that of other children (927). Boys in excess of the ideal family size were to be adopted by 'citizens who have no offspring...preferably by friendly agreement.'; girls given 'in marriage' (740). The two categories 'orphan' and 'surplus' are clearly evident. Remaining supernumerary children were to be sent to the colonies 'with love and friendship on both parts' (LAWS 740). The children of convicts were to be treated as orphans (909). A man divorced from his wife was to be counselled, suggesting that he bring up his children **without** a stepmother (930). Education was to be provided by the state for both sexes and was to be 'compulsory' (804). Incompatibility which led to estrangement between parents and children was also recognised; spontaneous abandonment was to be forestalled (929):

If, with just cause or without it, unhappy passion assail a man with the desire to cast out his kin...he shall have no licence to do the act incontinently, without due form.

He was first to convince a meeting of kin that his reasons were just, and the opinions of the child were not to be ignored: he 'shall grant the son equal facilities of pleading that he deserves no such thing'.

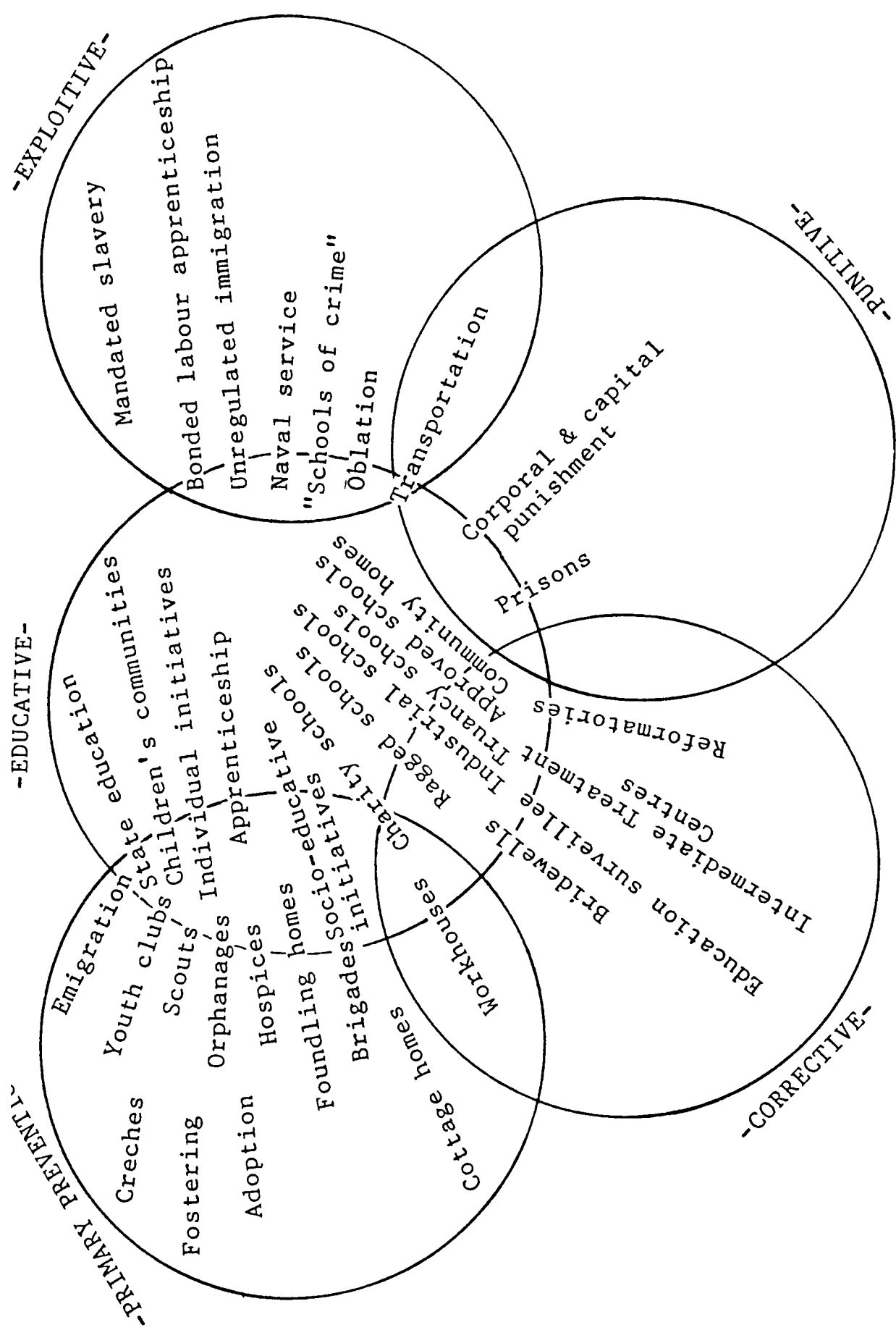
These edicts are a remarkable exercise in futuristics when viewed in relation to the children found within the 19th century Ragged Schools. According to Montague, symptomatic of the failure of state mechanisms was a 'surplus population':

'orphans', 'Children of convicts', and of 'stepfathers or stepmothers', 'deserted children', and 'runaways' (1904:204;47). Emigration to the colonies and adoption were common responses, and the absence of state education was seen as a contributory cause of the problem (Kay in Hill 1857:84;86). To lessen the present incidence of street children, state benefit in Britain has now just been extended to young people 'genuinely estranged from their parents' (DSS in Lunn 1989:20). Plato even predicted the necessity for population control: an 'excessive flow of citizens' was to be regulated by 'measures to check propagation' (740). European urbanisation does not therefore reveal a progressive development of fundamental thinking. Rather, there has been a period of experimentation and failure leading to the implementation of ideas which have existed in embryo for two millenia.

The primary objectives of the European response can be deduced from the nature of provision: prevention, correction, punishment, exploitation (see Fig. 6.). These can be related to the four basic options for dealing with unsupported or inadequately supported children: institutionalisation, group relocation (emigration; in-country resettlement; transportation), individual placement (bonding; adoption; fostering), and educational networks (partial; universal).

Potential street children still clearly exist. In 1982, children in state care in England included: 2197 'abandoned or lost', 8529 'deserted by parent', 981 'family homeless'

Fig. 6. The PRIMARY OBJECTIVES of EUROPEAN ACTIONS



(NCH 1989:32). Many lessons therefore derive from the absence rather than the presence of 'street child education'. How have we arrived at a period of minimised juvenile vagrancy?

#### INSTITUTIONALISATION (4.1.)

##### Objectives

The isolation of unsupported children in institutions is a procedure which we take for granted, yet it derives originally from the Church rather than from any other social system. As the Roman Church was established around the ownership of property and communal living, the idea of containing unsupported children in institutions probably proceeded naturally from this. Alternative structures which more closely replicated the family may not have occurred readily to those who, by dint of chastity, were the members of the community with the least experience of rearing young. Three main factors prompted the instigation of orphanages and foundling homes by Church authorities.

Firstly, the church was effectively culpable in respect of surplus children as religious dictates enshrined in Roman Law had deprived the community of the natural expedient of infanticide. William Sumner provides a synopsis:

As a corollary of the legislation against infanticide, institutions to care for foundlings came into existence. Such institutions rank as charitable and humanitarian. Their history is such as to make infanticide seem kind (1940:319).

The 13th century foundling hospital **Concervatorio della Ruota** was, according to tradition, created because Innocent III had become horrified at the number of drowned infants who



appeared in the nets of the Tiber fishermen (McClure 1981:6).

Secondly, confinement was the obvious measure to separate the young from the immorality of prostitution, and the consequent possibility of the sin of incest. 'Boys might wander the streets if they could not find work. Girls could not...[which] led to the creation of conservatories or warehouses for unwanted adolescents' (Trexler 1973:261). Later corrective institutions, such as Bridewells, were similarly founded on the apparent need to isolate the young from the malevolent influence of adult vagrants.

Thirdly, a supply of malleable recruits to the clergy was not unwelcome. 'What could be more altruistic than to allow children to live, more useful than the prayers of the innocents?' (Trexler 1973:260). Oblation prevented abandonment but education was a direct incentive: those given to the monasteries were, by statute, the **only** children permitted Church tutelage until the Middle Ages. Religious objectives reconciled with philanthropy are displayed in an opinion of the Irish Charter Schools:

Charity can never be carried higher than to rescue the Souls of thousands of poor Children from the dangers of Popish superstition and Idolatry, and their Bodies from the Miseries of Idleness and Begging (Nelson 1752:74).

The educative vehicle of the **Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge** was not only the Charity Schools, it later had control of the Church of England's Waifs and Strays Society (now The Children's Society) until 1922. In Catholic children's homes this century, protestant children were re-

baptised as Catholics (Grant 1989).

Parallel to religious objectives were political theories concerning public order. A report of 1513 is clear:

If we were to confess the truth, one can absolutely say they [the foundling home of the Innocenti and the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova] have been and are the two firm and solid columns maintaining this sublime Republic and its liberty (in Trexler 1973:259) .

In 1829, Burgoyne formed a similar conclusion of the effects of English legislation since Tudor times:

However the Poor Laws have been abused and perverted...the principle that **no man can starve** is not only a benevolent but a politic enactment; and, in my opinion, has been the means of tranquillising the lower ranks, and reconciling them to their situation (p31),

Albeit crudely enacted, the avoidance of totally excluded groups has continually been considered by the secular state as fundamental to maintaining social order. Self-interest rather than altruism has usually been the motivating factor.

Within these objectives the main reason for educating institutionalized children was simply that they should be made self-reliant. The Apostolic Constitutions required that a skill was learned by orphans 'so that they may no longer than necessary be a burden to the church' (IV,ii). A report of 1571 concerning Bridewell correction at Norwich displays the same motivation: apprenticeship was necessary for vagrant children so that 'they shall of themselves be able to lyve of their owne workes with their famelies as others do.' (in Leonard 1900:314). Provision often stemmed from the knowledge that otherwise establishments simply generated misfits. At the end

of the 18th century in France, institutions were viewed with disfavour 'not because of harm to the children but because of the potential harm to society upon their eventual release' (Fuchs 1984:16).

Although directed at individuals, the corrective ethos marked an innovatory application of an educative process: that it could be curative of a social malaise. Practitioners, however, were often less concerned with attending to attitudes. T.B.L. Baker points to the hidden virtues of Industrial training: 'Twelve month's hard work in a reformatory ruined forever the delicacy of finger necessary for a pickpocket' (1856:23).

In France surveillance was synonymous with correction. At **La Petite Roquette** prison the schoolroom was 'so contrived as to enable the teacher or superintendent to see each of the boys, but to prevent the boys from seeing each other' (TPS 1846:45). At Mettray, the system was extended to spiritual surveillance: 'by the mode in which the cells are arranged in the rear of the church, [the boys] can join in divine service unseen by each other, or by the body of their companions' (TPS 1846:32). Even at general primary schools 'observers' were to report pupils who were 'unruly on the street' (Foucault 1977:176). In the present-day delinquent minors are under the auspices of L' Education Surveillée; probation is termed 'Liberté Surveillée'. 'Observation centres' are now central to the state strategies in the former Latin colonies.

Surveillance prevents avoidance of the dominant ideal by

placing the individual within desired boundaries, and letting it be known that deviation is always observed. By contrast, the 'self-government' strategy hoped to develop an innate understanding of the desirability of an ordered community. References to self-governing structures appear in the 19th century. At the Brenton Asylum, those in the top group were permitted to serve as 'jurymen...and to have their word taken on all occasions' (Forss 1835:21). Homer Lane's experiments at the Little Commonwealth, the English co-educational reformatory established in 1914, marked the start of recent practice. Here, 'law breakers not only learnt to become law-makers, they also learnt to be law enforcers' (Bazeley 1948:18). The **Boys' Towns** (est. 1917) are credited with developing the idea, but it was also proposed that English Reformatory and Industrial Schools 'should aim at placing more authority in the hands of the inmates, making them, as far as possible, responsible for the management of the school, and giving them greater individual liberty and independence' (Hall 1917:100).

Self-determination was within the ethos of emerging youth movements in Germany. Already by 1913, a 'conference' of 3000 youths had declared through the Meissner formula:

**Free German Youth**, on their own initiative, under their own responsibility...are determined to independently shape their own lives (in Stachura 1981:57).

The emergent Youth Leagues of between-wars Germany, themselves became involved with social issues. Wandervogel concerned itself with 'homeless, the underprivileged, the indigent,

social misfits, deprived children, orphans and children from broken homes...juvenile delinquents' (Stachura 1981:57). Subsequently the Children's Communities made considerable use of the initiative of their inhabitants. The **Civita Vecchia** is typical:

The free citizens of this republic built and furnished their huts themselves...the laws in force have been worked out by the children themselves...Those who were the leaders during the period of vagabondage have usually become administrators - the mayor and his deputies - elected by ballot (UNESCO 1949a.:10).

Whilst self-governing institutions demonstrated the benefits of liberal internal organisational structures, there was usually less effort made to relate to the community which the children were to eventually join.

The subsequent psycho-educative view of correction proposes that society is congruous if the minds of individuals are in accord. This approach emerged strongly during the post-war years to redress war-related delinquency (see UNESCO 1950b.:115 & UNESCO 1952). Phrases such as, 'medico-pedagogical treatment' and 'educational treatment', became common (UNESCO 1950b.:10). A psychological approach continues today within the Intermediate Treatment Centres. Through comparing the 'personal constructs' of deviant and mentor, the child's theory of life is understood which provides a basis for proposing change. Simple language-based techniques such as listing the good and bad aspects of a situation, and working on bi-polar opposites highlights difference. When a child states that 'tough' is the opposite of 'clever', there is a

starting point for discussing varying attitudes.

During World War II, unsupported children on the continent became a ready vehicle for Nazi corrective measures. UNRAA reported hundreds of orphaned or D.P. children from allied nations, transported to German institutions for 'Germanising' (UNRAA 1946a.:40). A Heidelberg Children's Home labelled children 'feeble-minded' to justify prisoner-of-war camp conditions. Records revealed that a certain quota were regularly eliminated by injection, particularly the "imperfect" who did not match the Nazi ideal (UNRAA 1946c.34). However harsh or inept, corrective education in general displays a crude desire to bring a community together; Nazi activities provide the reminder that there are other ways of creating a theoretically homogeneous society.

In present-day homes such as **Cascas do Gaiato** in Portugal 'reconversion' remains central, but strategies also entail the provision of a desirable norm as a model, rather than deliberate efforts to change attitudes. The institution tries to address:

- a. the need of a family
- b. the need for love
- c. physical needs food, bed etc.
- d. the need for activities; plenty to do
- e. a natural environment [rural]
- f. the need for justice: 'it is the first weapon against vices'
- g. free expression - freedom like the streets (Lourieo 1979:154).

In countries with minimal welfare services, a humane institution might still stand a better chance of contributing to a harmonious society than the other available options.

When correction has been a less predominant objective, the children's situation was often exploited to fulfil the human resource needs of the élite, or to fuel national endeavours. Mrs Trimmer was clear that girls in her charge were to be 'instructed in every thing requisite to qualify them for domestic servants.' (1829:14). Owen concludes, with particular reference to **The Maritime Society**, that 'the manpower requirements of Britain's maritime interest were never far in the background when charities for waifs and orphans were projected.' (1965:15). W.Chance describes the motivation behind aspects of the curriculum for Poor Law boys:

...the band is the most important feature...the boys who play in the band are well equipped for the army...After the band the two commonest trades are shoemaking and tailoring. Both have the double advantage of being useful in the Army and being useful to the school (1897:218).

During the first quarter of this century, the record books of the large orphanages display a repetitive pattern: girls 'Sent into service'; boys 'Died whilst serving King and Country' (TCS archives). A boy forced onto the streets by the effects of war, might enter a charitable establishment only to be fed back into the war machine a few years later.

#### Contemporary opinion

The problematic consequences of institution-based responses have precipitated change. Victorian prisons were often seen as an attractive option for street Arabs: 'the jail, instead of being a place of terror and aversion to the young criminals, is really made an asylum and a home by many of them.' (Mayhew & Binney 1862:414). Mary Carpenter pointed to the major irony

in 19th century England: 'The only school provided in Great Britain for her children, is - the GAOL.' (1851:261). The absurdity of putting an educational premium on a prison sentence, and the knowledge that juvenile prisoners would be further schooled in crime (see 3.3. "Immoral" education), provided the classic impasse for European governments.

The London Workhouse was originally applauded for reducing crime (Maitland 1756:822). Later it became necessary for the state to propose reformatory schools to undo criminal tutelage received in workhouses (Kay-Shuttleworth 1839:205). Present-day Detention Centres pose a similar problem. One inmate publicly admitted that he 'learned more [about crime] in six months than he has in eighteen years' (BBC 1987c.). Institutions now facilitate the teaching of young people to misuse drugs. Despite this, present British case-stories are sometimes indistinguishable from those of Victorian times:

"I had very little money, so I tried to break into a house to steal some food. That was when I was caught...I have been in and out of institutions since I was two..." The boy was sentenced to two months in a detention centre. He has no fixed abode. His property at the time of the offence was threepence (in Tomasevski 1986:30).

Although better intentioned, corrective endeavour was difficult to maintain without harsh measures. A report from Norwich in 1571, concerning children in the Bridewell provides an insight into how training was to bring about a change in attitude:

to be dryven to worke and lerne, by the powers appoynted in the bridewell and with such corrections, tyll their handes be browght into such use and their bodies to such paynes as labore and learninge shall be easier to them than idleness...(in Leonard 1900:314)



Reformatories achieved their ends more subtly but with no greater humanity. They too perpetuated practices which they hoped to eradicate: sexual activity was often more rampant within institutions than on the streets (Humphries 1981:218).

The dual preventive/corrective structure appears, however, not to have been without merit. E.C. Wines concluded from his world survey in 1880 (p223): 'the English reformatory school as corrective of criminality, and the English Industrial School as preventive of crime, furnish the world the best model, upon the whole, of which I have knowledge.'. He was also specific concerning a similar approach in France concluding that, 'the adoption and education of destitute, orphan, and deserted children, are so admirably managed...partly by the action of the Government but more largely by that of individuals, as powerfully as well as favourably to affect the question of criminality in that country.' (1880:341).

Even benign institutional solutions have compounded basic problems. St Basil displayed caution about unwanted infants: '...if brought by parents, they may be accepted, but great care must be exercised' (Trexler 1973:260). The abandoning of children in the hope of a better life-chance was inevitable. To provide better care for the destitute child than that available to those of the general poor, was also considered potentially problematic. Kay was emphatic that, 'The physical condition of the children who are deprived of the care of natural guardians ought not to be elevated above that of the

household of the self-supported labourer' (1839:3). If establishments were well run, the results could also be amusing. One child returned to a workhouse from being at day school with other children to complain: 'Matron, please, I do not like going to that school; nasty dirty children; and creepy crawly things drop on my plate' (Chance 1897:172). In England, a Select Committee report of 1840 displayed a more sophisticated realisation. They negated the building of more Foundling Hospitals on the grounds that they would promote immorality by acting as a crèche for the children of prostitutes (see McLure 1981:254).

In contemporary Naples, Mario Borelli's strategy changed from that of the **Casa dello Scugnizzo** because parents

came to see the placement of their children in the project as a convenience, as a way of evading their own responsibilities...it was inculcating values which were different to those of the children's own social environment...it was making reintegration into society more difficult in the long-term...[young people] could no longer return easily to their families, who tended to reject them. Institutionalisation has insulated the youngsters artificially from reality, and they were caught between two worlds (Inter-NGO 1985:55).

If more attractive than the other options, any intervention becomes a magnet.

Greenwood concluded of philanthropic institutions, 'it is a tedious and roundabout method of reform that can only be tolerated until a more direct route is discovered.' (1869:79). The notion that a universal form of social and educational support was necessary, can be seen to have emerged from the failures of institutionalisation. Winfield encapsulated

general sentiment:

Good it is to try to reform juvenile criminals. It is better rightly to educate juvenile vagrants, to place power, naturally given to the parent, in other hands when that parent does not use it aright...but it is better still to frame measures by which the children of our honest and hard working artisans can be usefully educated (in Hill 1857:240).

In the present-day, despite universal educational and welfare networks, full-time state institutionalisation still exists for unplaceable children or for those labelled deviant. It contributes to a perpetuation of street-life. Around a third of those seeking help in London have absconded from "care" (TCS).

Plato did not propose the institutionalisation of unsupported children, but rather that adoption was to be closely supervised by government officials and that formal education for all was a state duty. It is an interesting conjecture that, had Europe evolved along Platonic rather than Christian lines, the abdication of corporate responsibility by isolating children in institutions may never have been practised. Instead, those without support would have been the practical concern of the whole adult community. A conclusion from Trexler, from his study of foundling homes, lucidly sums up the social implications of separatist treatment:

Charity is an ambiguous human activity. Individual kindness documents the power of the giver and the weakness of the recipient...Interring the helpless appears to aid them; it also atrophies the human sentiment of solidarity (1973:259).

#### GROUP RELOCATION (4.2.)

Emigration and transportation were not general throughout Europe. Gillian Wagner points to the idiosyncrasy: 'I believe the British are the only people in the world who have sent their unwanted children overseas in times of peace.' (1981:60). The French Anthropologist J.B.H. Thulié, impressed by the English system which apparently perceived the link between its own urban 'savages' and Australia's indigenous ones, formulated detailed proposals for schools in Tunisia and Algeria. But although only the most intelligent and industrious enfants assistés were to be sent, the idea was not developed (1891).

The idea of sending unsupported youth to 'the colonies' was clearly outlined in Plato's **Laws** (740;929). Montague was candid about the colonial theory underlying the Ragged Schools' actions:

Emigration was a very important feature of the work. When the pressure of obligation to dispose of our surplus population was more keenly felt than now, there was quite a craze for a time to send young people to the colonies (1904:204).

France could implement the idea internally. Urban areas were viewed as the 'state' with a surplus population; the rural locations of the 'Colonies Agricoles', as the name suggests, represented the 'colonies' - areas in which children could be resettled. Implicit in colonial theory is the notion of 'settlement', which entails that those concerned have a stake in their new environment (Harmondsworth s.a.:2145). Schools therefore functioned to set up a reciprocal obligation between

individual and colony.

The unpredictable nature of political repercussions entailed that the British government could not be seen to have direct educational objectives which expedited emigration. However, the appeal of an instant and irreversible solution to the problem of surplus or recalcitrant youth prompted the encouragement of an upgrading of the child's abilities via the charitable organisations. The Workhouse child was known to be inadequately skilled for emigration: '...he can neither dig, hoe, nor plough; is puzzled with harness, and afraid of a horse' (Morgan 1853:9). Philanthropic organisations such as the **Brenton Asylum** provided training for children from workhouses prior to life in the colonies. The qualifications for emigration via a Ragged school were clear (Montague 1904:204):

...regular attendance at school for six months; ability to write a sentence from dictation; to work the four simple rules of arithmetic; to read fluently; to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; a certificate of four month's attendance at an industrial class or proof of knowledge of a practical occupation.

To covertly encourage emigration, an Act of 1866 permitted the premature release of children from Reformatories and Industrial Schools, provided they went to the colonies (Pinchbeck & Hewitt 1973:570).

The major charitable bodies were also pleased to pass the responsibility for emigration further down the line to private concerns. Two individual philanthropists, Miss Rye and Miss Macpherson, educated some 5000 girls prior to life in Canada,

with the indirect support of several Poor Law Boards, The Times, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Barnardo's and other major charities (Pinchbeck & Hewitt 1973:564-573). Subsequent public concern about the fate of these emigrant children therefore caused the downfall of individuals, not of governments or large organisations.

Popular rationalisation was enshrined in a 19th century ditty:

Take them away! Take them away!  
Out of the gutter, the ooze and the slime,  
Where the little vermin paddle and crawl  
Till they grow and ripen into crime...  
The boys from the gallows, the girls from worse;  
They'll prove a blessing to other lands.  
Here, if they linger, they'll prove a curse.  
(in Bean & Melville 1989:59)

Up to 1967, a solution to overcrowded children's homes which populated the colonies was not discouraged. The endeavours of the Catholic Children's Society was specifically fuelled by concern that Catholics should be outnumbered in Australia. A former inmate of a Fairbridge school is candid about its motivation: 'They needed to have good white youth in Rhodesia. Looking back, one was aware what was going on' (Melville 1989:20). In 1922 the South Australian Premier requested male children to replace war casualties and maintain a balance with the Asian community. Group relocation has consistently represented social expediency rationalised as individual beneficence.

Education could be synonymous with exploitation. Under Catholic auspices in Western Australia in the 1950s, it is reported that the children

put up three big two-story buildings themselves, with spacious hallways and chapels, dormitories and schoolrooms. All built with the back-breaking labour, hauling in rocks from the bush, of those forlorn cargoes of children..."after the chores and morning devotions it was nine o'clock and we were in class. And by 9.30am, we'd be out and picking up rocks...I was never educated. I never learned a trade. Now I'm unemployed with no qualifications" (Melville 1989:19).

As a result of this form of treatment, the basic problem was perpetuated. Absconders from Australian settlement homes 'became the first street kids in Perth' (Grant 1989).

It is hard to distinguish, concerning outcome, between those sent abroad for punishment or as a charitable act. Comparisons with a hypothetical further existence at home are speculation. In retrospect the most significant mistake of the emigration agencies was to send children who were not totally unsupported. Poor parents were often persuaded to agree to emigration without knowledge of the irreversible consequences (see Bean & Melville 1989).

#### INDIVIDUAL PLACEMENT (4.3.)

##### Objectives

Individual placement can be justified on educational grounds, upholding the ideals of Pestalozzi, Comenius and others, that the family is the fundamental educational milieu. Conversely, there is an equally cogent line of argument from Plato (Republic, Bk V) and the Kibbutz system which advocates the reverse: that socialisation is better if children are separated from the family unit. In practical terms, the advantages of family support lie in the possibility of parents

questioning the deficiencies of daily school life.

The system hinges on the value of the child to the adult. Until this century, the placement of children was facilitated either because of inheritance, or because labour value could be exploited. As one young girl lucidly concluded in the 19th century: "'Doption, sir, is when folks get a girl to work without wages" (in Pinchbeck & Hewitt 1973:568). More recently, worth appears to be reflected both in the economic rewards of fostering, and on the emotional or moral fulfilment level.

Although the state exploits the value of the child to expedite the process of placement, it has generally remained distanced from the direct rewards. But there are instances when the system has been employed to meet political ends. For example, in England, 'An Act for the Increase of Seamen and better Encouragement of Navigation...', permitted boys over 10 'who shall begg for Alms, to be Apprenticed...to the Sea service' (1703,2 & 3 An.,6,). This law enabled the exploitation of mendicant young during many subsequent periods of war. Blatant manipulation for political purposes was demonstrated in Ireland. An Act of 1715 expressed fear about 'the great numbers of helpless children, who are forced to beg for their bread, and who will in all likelihood, if some proper care is not taken of their education, become not only unprofitable but dangerous to their country.' (2 Geo.I.,c.17). The children, predominantly Catholic, were to be bound to any **Protestant** housekeeper or tradesman (Ribton-Turner 1887:402).



This was tantamount to coercive conversion. Similarly, after World War II, unsupported children from the allied nations were found to have been placed with families in Germany, for 'Germanising' (UNRAA 1946b.:33).

More generally, educational implications have stemmed from the realisation that a competent, presentable youngster was more easily placed. The industrial ethos of much educational work was directly linked to ultimate apprenticeship. Educational provision has therefore been motivated by the need for: (i) training prior to apprenticeship to enhance the value of a young child; (ii) improving the "acceptability quotient" prior to adoption; (iii) education through apprenticeship to ensure independence from state support; and less frequently, (vi) training for military purposes, and; (v) religious or cultural conversion within an adoptive setting.

#### Contemporary opinion

In Britain, from 1562 until 1814, an apprenticeship was the **only** way in which an individual could become a skilled craftsman; a similar situation existed throughout Europe. To offer an apprenticeship to a street child was to provide an educational opportunity which usually guaranteed employment and might have facilitated considerable upward mobility through the Guilds. Given a benign master acting **in loco parentis**, the system may have also have provided the supposed benefits of adoption; with an exploitive overseer it amounted to virtual slavery. The principal failing was that the

circumstances of an apprenticeship were rarely inspected (see Pinchbeck & Hewitt 1969:247). Abuse was frequent, death not unknown.

When successful, adoption appears the most humane solution to the problems of an unsupported child. Unfortunately it can also generate the problems of step-parentage, and the absence of an incest bar can prompt sexual abuse. The child's natural identity is usually subsumed, and the state takes little formal responsibility after the adoption order. At best, it facilitates a "normal" educational milieu but, if unsuccessful, the pressures on adopted children can be compounded by resultant poor school performance.

Fostering, although considered inconclusive, is an honest compromise, and it benefits from regular monitoring. As standard nuclear family structures are becoming less general, support within non-conventional home-based settings is likely to find greater favour, especially in the light of current problems with adoption. There is a danger that if children are conspicuously from a non-kin family they will be ostracised at school. Pedagogical implications would seem to entail the need to present non-standard families as an acceptable social norm. Textbooks and other teaching materials could contribute to this, as they have to racial integration.

In order to overcome the homelessness of young teenagers in England, a few are now registered as their own foster parents: they receive state support for taking charge of themselves. For these students, schooling must change from

being an imagined preparation for adult life, to representing a response to the real thing. Cinderella subjects such as domestic science may well need to be made more relevant to address the educational needs of the semi-independent youth of future generations.

Two factors have inhibited the formal placement of street children, and state education can be seen to ameliorate these. Firstly concerning value, they rarely had inheritance and were usually unwilling to labour without direct benefit to themselves. Unappealing physical condition and perceived anti-social attitudes minimised their emotional worth; they were often seen be culprits rather than victims, and therefore appeared less deserving on moral terms. Within a school, the negative economic value of the child is diminished as the school shares the burden of child rearing and provides a delivery point for state welfare. Labour value is increased, although deferred, which implies the probability of reciprocal support for adoptive parents.

Secondly, governments were specific as to the type of child who should be placed with adopting families, for fear of encouraging abandonment or profligacy. The 'boarding out' system from English workhouses was, for example, specifically limited to 'orphan or deserted children' (Chance 1897:185). The indeterminate status of most street children therefore inhibited the possibility of placement. If free education is universally available, this removes a primary motivation for abrogating parental responsibility to the state, and therefore

the fear of precipitating abandonment is lessened. Through schools the state can also provide support for the children of profligate women without seeming to encourage immorality.

Schools provide an informal means for the state to monitor the abuse of children by adoptive parents. The fact that adoption has only been a state practice since the inception of universal education (1923 in France; 1926 in Britain), suggests that the functional contribution of schools to the system may well be deserving of greater attention.

Individual placement creates the outward impression of a congruous community, but for those not orphaned who are detached from natural parents it can represent lasting isolation from identity, and rejection. That some parents are unable to support their own offspring whilst others have the wealth and ability to take control of those who appear surplus, is a symptom of a divided community. Educational networks can contribute to the success of individual placement. More importantly, as a means of supporting natural parents, they can prevent its need.

#### EDUCATIONAL NETWORKS (4.4.)

##### Objectives

Networks can be viewed on two levels. Firstly **partial** systems which have appeared in the form of Ragged Schools, Charity Schools, and socio-educative programmes. These aim to redress an absence or shortcoming of a national system. Secondly **universal**, equitable provision which absorbs those who might

otherwise be on the streets, and is usually represented by a state system of education. Britain was fifty years behind northern Europe in terms of universal provision (Kay 1850:1; Manton 1976:81). The result was a unique example of a partial network stemming from private endeavour. Lord Shaftesbury was clear:

"...the Ragged School movement is a most important episode in the history of mankind. I have never known or read of anything else like it. I know of nothing so remarkable; I know of nothing so singular..."  
(Lord Shaftesbury in Montague 1904:2).

The Ragged Schools can be seen as symptomatic of asynchronous social change: a society with a structural need for universal schooling, which was not fulfilled as elsewhere in countries at a similar level of development. England therefore provides a focus for a discussion of partial provision.

The debates surrounding educational networks were similar to those concerning institutions. Not least was the questioning of **any** form of education for the masses. A comment from the then Prime Minister Lord Melbourne to Queen Victoria in the 1830s epitomised this attitude: 'I do not know why there is all this fuss about education. None of the Paget family can read or write and they do very well.' (in Silver 1905: 75). This view was accompanied by uncertainty as to whether educated or uneducated masses provided the greater threat to established order. More tangible were the arguments in support of child labour. One commentator was specific regarding street children in 1844, presenting factory work as an act of philanthropy in its own right:

To abolish juvenile labour is plainly nothing less than to abolish juvenile means of support...we have seen...the juvenile mendicant, and the juvenile vagrant, with famine in their cheeks and despair in their hearts...we would rather see boys and girls earning the means of support in the mill than starving by the roadside, shivering on the pavement, or even conveyed in an omnibus to Bridewell...(in Simkin 1986:13)

The social control issue became a counter to both vacuous and palpable arguments against popular schooling. In 1904, Montague retrospectively discussed the threat of adult vagrants in Victorian England: 'The dangerous masses were behind the exasperated working people, and England's ruin seemed inevitable' (p28). He is certain that the education of young vagrants helped to stem this:

That the direct and indirect influence of the ragged schools of London and the great towns did a great deal towards turning aside the threatened trouble there can be little doubt. Lord Shaftesbury never tired of saying so. Cabinet ministers and judges of his generation allowed that it was true (p9).

That the streets were a source of improper learning also became a common theme. **The Examiner** newspaper articulated general sentiment:

...left to grow up ignorant of everything except the most revolting aspect of our human nature, They have nothing else to imitate. **Vice** educates them to **its** trades, if virtue does not (in Morgan 1853:9).

The effects of Ragged Schools were consequently lauded. The head of the London police stated in 1862: '...from a ragged school at its foundation attended mainly by thieves, through which in five years 12,000 children had passed, there had not been a single police-court case.' (in Montague 1904:300). Mr

Justice Cresswell revealed an emerging criminological theory:

...good education, including infant training as well as sound religious and moral instruction, will do more to lessen the prevalence of crime than any mode of dealing with convicts that can be devised (Carpenter 1851:54) .

Joseph Tuckerman contributed the argument that in France between 1867 and 1869, of the 50% of the population which was illiterate, 95% had been arrested and 87% convicted of a crime (1874:196). A statistical comparison of the efficacy of churches versus schools lead him to conclude that 'crime decreases almost in the same ratio that schools increase, while more or less churches seem in Bavaria to produce very little effect upon it.' (p197). Low intellectual attainment remains linked to juvenile criminality: of the youth at present in British detention centres, 25% are illiterate (BBC 1987c.).

Provision commensurate with class was supported by the Bible: 'Train up a Child in the Way he should go' (Prov. 22.6). Mrs Trimmer proposed this view as an act of beneficence:

...the children of the poor should not be educated in such a manner as to let them above the occupations of humble life, or to make them uncomfortable among their equals, and ambitious of associating with persons moving in a higher sphere, with whom they cannot possibly vie in expense or appearance without manifest injury to themselves (1829:8).

Concerning Charity Schools, the argument was presented in a manner which equates with Ronald Dore's concept of 'Diploma Disease'. Well educated and trained children emerged from the schools,

but unfortunately, the market is overstocked with these superior qualifications; and when they are called for, one is chosen and forty nine are disappointed...Happy it would have been for the boys, if they had made more use of the plough, the spade, the awl, and the needle, and less of the pen (Burgoyne 1829:3),.

Despite these reservations, efforts were made to reach those who had been pushed beyond the boundaries of mainstream existence. Educative outreach was synonymous with evangelism. Guthrie's impromptu lesson to impoverished urchins selling water from a well in Edinburgh was particularly inspired:

We thought it would be a kindness...to tell of the living water that springeth up to life eternal, and of Him who sat on the stone of Jacob's Well, and who stood in the Temple and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink" (1847:13).

Pupil response is not noted. Whilst Christian ideals generally supported the idea of educating street children, they have also justified a contrary argument. Cornwallis provides a splendid example, critical of the work of ragged schools:

"...misery is the appointed punishment of sin, and to attempt to rescue these children from the state into which their own parents' misdeeds had brought them, was detrimental to society by confounding the distinctions of right and wrong, lessening the divinely appointed penalty of crime, and thus weakening the deterring force of such examples of suffering." (1851:48).

Although education was seen to be the means of preventing marginalisation, from a different perspective it could also be viewed as the apparent rewarding of deviant behaviour. Another critique recorded by Cornwallis is typical:

Thieves and vagabonds were here received, kindly treated, and instructed; they had thus a better chance than the children of honest labourers, whom no one sought out; - it was offering a premium to vice (1851:48).



This impasse contributed significantly to the change in social attitudes which came to see a 'universal' system as the only option.

When outlining the 1870 Education Bill, Forster reiterated objectives that had become central to the Ragged Schools. He spoke of:

...removing that ignorance which we are all aware is pregnant with crime and misery, with misfortune to individuals and danger to the community (p438)...the most careful absence of all encouragement to parents to neglect their children (p443)...child after child - boys or girls - growing up to probable crime, because badly taught or utterly untaught? (p466) (Hansard 1870).

Unfortunately the early decades of state education displayed none of the sensitivity of charitable endeavour, preferring the punitive treatment of truancy to any educative structures related to street existence.

A 'containment function' is now a latent understanding of the role of compulsory schooling in a modern urban environment, which continues the social control/criminality theme (see Hodges 1974:389). The description of 'modern mass education...[as] a cross between a factory and a giant baby sitter', is unwittingly apposite (Simmons & Winograd 1966:139). The containment and welfare roles provide a fundamental criticism of the 'de-schooling' proposals of Ivan Illich and others. This is not to argue that schools necessarily should fulfil these tasks, but rather that before de-schooling ideals can be seriously proposed, present functions must be recognised.

In the present-day, state education generally ignores street culture. Voluntary organisations are left to disseminate material concerning the hazards of sleeping rough, prostitution, and gambling machines. Under the DES, Alternative and Detached Youth work reaches some of those estranged. Juvenile crime has prompted the British Home Office to compile a teaching pack concerning the consequences of 'criminal damage and assault, joy riding shoplifting and burglary' (Childright 1989:4). The DES now funds a Drugs Education Co-ordinator in every authority who will support detached youth workers (HMSO 1988), and state backed street-education now concerns the spread of HIV/AIDS through prostitutes. It remains uncertain as to whether open debate of these topics has a deterrent or a precipitant effect.

#### Contemporary opinion

On face value, the Ragged Schools were criticised on two levels. Firstly, as not countering the effects of immorality, and being themselves "schools of crime" (see Mayhew in Thompson and Yeo 1971:33). It was well known that the London refuges became the wintering places for itinerant young criminals (Tobias 1967:80). Secondly, for providing an inferior education. The London School Board considered that they, 'at best, were schools only in name.' (in Montague 1904:309). Consequently at the time of the 1870 Education Act two divergent opinions emerged; the **Daily Telegraph** proposed:

The Ragged Schools of London have been examined by Government inspectors, and with scarcely an exception have been condemned as inefficient...Will they not serve as a trap to parents, and be an obstacle to the efforts of the School Board? (in RSU 1872:27).

Whereas the **Mirror** concluded:

It is no use to run down Ragged Schools...and say they have done their work...In time to come the Ragged Schools may become absorbed in the general plan of State education, but **for years it will have its own proper vocation, and its own peculiar work.** (in RSU 1872:59).

The **Mirror** detected broader implications. To focus only on critiques of daily running distracts from an understanding of the role of Ragged Schools within a malfunctioning society.

Partial networks fulfilled **bridging** functions on two levels. Socially, spanning the disjuncture of asynchronous social change between a community which structurally required a universal system of education and a state that failed to institute one. Individually, between the products of a social malfunction, who were consequently viewed as malefactors, and a normal process of socialisation. Sir Thomas Chambers detected this process:

...a wild lad...untutored and savage, not used to restraint, abhorring to be under cover for an hour together, yet brought to school...where was the Government agency that could work a miracle like this (p190)...The eels which are in the mud the Government has been trying to catch with their nets, and they have caught nothing but the fish that swim. The conductors of ragged schools alone have gone into the mud, and they have caught the eels (in Montague 1904).

E.C.Wines formalised the notion that this bridging process was best enacted by non-state organisations:

The question arises here, whether the state should itself fulfil this task by centralising in the hands of official agents the aid and instruction to be given to destitute and deserted children? This question must be answered in the negative; for something more than money is wanted in a work of this kind; namely the sympathy of loving hearts and the zeal of private charity, whose activity the state only needs, by moderate subsidies, to stimulate and encourage (1880:608).

Reaching alienated groups was seen to require individuals and entities that were themselves outside mainstream structures.

Forster predicted that his 1870 Act would 'bring elementary education within the reach...of those children who have no homes' (in Manton 1976:223). Enoch Wines was more circumspect:

But after all that the best organised and best administered system of public instruction can accomplish, there will remain a residuum of children...whom the systems will not reach. Their destitution, their vagrant life, their depraved habits, their ragged and filthy condition forbid their reception into the ordinary schools of the people (1880:607).

In 1888, Waugh estimated that 200,000 'of the class of children who make their living on the streets' were in 'Industrial Schools and Reformatories of the state, [and] in the Homes and Refuges of charitable Societies' (1888:825). Compulsion was a dubious answer. It frequently entailed both blaming and punishing the victims. One report tells how, in 1875, an odd-job man was jailed for not sending his child to school. He was consequently evicted from his home and 'In desperation he handed over his sons to a travelling showman, who exhibited one of them as a "living skeleton"' (Stroud 1971:1).

Despite initial problems, it is evident that within fifty years the condition of children was much improved. Many factors contributed to this: the major charitable orphanages, large-scale emigration, better Poor Law accommodation, the system of reformatories and industrial schools. At the turn of the century there was also a considerable improvement in

housing and other welfare provision, a sudden drop in birthrate, and a healthy employment market which absorbed most school leavers (Montague 1904:306). The precise degree to which universal schooling diminished child vagrancy is, of course, unquantifiable: it was part of an integrated process. Contemporary writers did, however, infer a causal link between state schooling and diminished vagrancy. Bosanquet, for example, talks of 'the mass of neglected children...destitute of proper guardianship, exposed for the most part, to the training of beggars and thieves', and the 'most striking difference' between London of 1912 and 'before the days of the Board Schools and compulsory education' (in Walvin 1982:149).

Ironically, it seems that schools were probably more important as a universal delivery point for welfare, rather than for their dubious scholastic benefits. An evaluation of 1911 supports this:

Few persons realise the enormous increase in personal obligation in the households of five-sixths of the population that was involved in the Education Acts...what it has meant...in many...poor households, to have to do without the elder children's help; to adjust the exiguous family budget without their little earnings; to get them up and dressed and sent off regularly and punctually to school; to conform, with many a painful struggle...with the ever rising school standard of personal cleanliness hygiene and clothing...It is...impossible to measure the vast, far-reaching and ubiquitous influence on the parents, in this teaching of regularity, self-subordination and self-control, which the elementary school has exercised. The quite new requirement...that the children's heads and bodies and clothes shall be reasonably free from the once universal vermin (Webb 1911:302).

Schools provided a means of monitoring neglect and inspiring care, and of defending children from the vagaries of their parents.

The 'half-time' system, accommodating working children, was criticised by a government committee in 1909. Stunted growth, tiredness in class, bad language and manners that influenced other children were cited against it (Gibb 1911:94). Although the system demonstrably encouraged an underclass within schools, it was pardonable as a transitional structure. If non-exploitive, the idea of permitting partial employment is still not without merit for older children. It obviates the abrupt change into adulthood, and permits those whose social skills are less adapted to school life to exploit other personal strengths which often include the ability to form productive relationships with the adult world.

In the present-day, school problems are a significant aspect of the profile of contemporary street children. Of the reasons for 'runaway' behaviour in England are: 'being suspended and afraid to face parents', 'being bullied by other children', 'school phobia, precipitated by a severe shock'. One London project reports that admissions increase just **after** term has started (TCS 1989). Rather than emphasising a 'containment' function, this evidence suggests that it is the presence rather than the absence of schooling that is a determining factor. A study in North America revealed that 70% of runaways had been 'suspended or expelled from school; 57% reported being 'dissatisfied at school' (Miller 1980:209).

Yet these young people did not discount education. Comparing views between runaways and non-runaways, as to the importance of school, Miller concludes: 'difference is in degree. Most runaways recognise the importance of school, even though they have left the scene' (p26).

In general, remedial networks have demonstrated a wish to integrate their students into mainstream schooling. The RSU was clear that the aim for the Ragged Children was to 'draft them to better schools' (Commons 1861:93). After the war it was concluded that, 'As the children are restored to social life they should leave the Children's Communities and be placed in families or schools.' (UNESCO 1950a.). There are two organisational aspects to integration: encouragement from the remedial organisations, and accommodation by the mainstream system. It is the latter that has generally posed a problem. In Britain at the present time a legislative Catch 22 prevents hostels for homeless youth from encouraging their 16 to 18-year-old clients to return to school or college: they would lose their supplementary benefit payments and they are not eligible for a maintenance grant until they are eighteen.

#### CONCLUSION (4.5.)

It is an important question as to why national governments (as distinct from municipalities) have rarely determined direct objectives concerning children existing on the streets, except in terms of funding and legislation to support non-state endeavours. It seems that orphans could comfortably come under

state auspices as they arose through natural circumstances; "criminal" behaviour represented deviance within a norm, therefore juvenile crime could also be an acknowledged state concern. Conversely, Foundling Homes, Ragged Schools, Colonies Agricoles. etc., were usually left to non-government organisations: these all symbolised a malfunctioning community. For the state to have initiated such establishments would have borne the unwelcome implication that they might come to represent an expected facet of society.

Consequently, state provision was made when there was little danger of it being self-perpetuating. Charitable organisations could be left to accommodate an indeterminate class that might increase if provision was open ended, because resources were finite which made them self-regulating. At a last resort, if charitable provision exceeded that which was comfortable to the polity, legislation which facilitated economic support could be reversed without the state seeming to fail in a self-declared duty.

When 19th century attitudes inclined towards universal education, this was clearly a natural role for the state. Whilst still reluctant to display any specific support for street children within a national educational system, the structure could legitimately include them without endorsing division. Truants and juvenile vagrants could then be accommodated by state machinery as, like criminals, they clearly represented deviance within a norm. Hence Reformatories and Industrial Schools (by then dubbed 'Truant



Schools') came more directly under state control only after the establishment of universal educational provision. European history seems to demonstrate that governments are most likely to address the needs of street children by strengthening mainstream institutions, state education being the most apt.

The development of the European response suggests that the questions posed by unsupported children in general, are best addressed by equitable, integrated measures which reflect, as near as is possible, mainstream life-styles and a balance of corporate/individual responsibility. There has been no single panacea. Inappropriate, separatist strategies have often arisen because of the absence of a distinction between totally unsupported children and those who are inadequately supported. Street children consisted mainly of the latter. Actions founded on an inaccurate knowledge of the children's circumstances created impasses which contributed to the debate for universal provision. Although small-scale responses may have derived from altruism, social self-interest has been the greatest force for significant change. Unfortunately it seems that the negative outcome of children being out of school, rather than the positive benefits of an adequate education, underlies policy: containment is paramount, learning secondary. Hence at a time of full universal provision there is still, as predicted, a 'residuum' who do not benefit from the system because it is not appropriate to their needs.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### The THIRD WORLD: ACTIONS

Due to colonial and international influence, actions throughout the third world reflect those of Europe, and can be viewed within the same framework: state responses, individual endeavour, NGOs, and state systems of education. Which of these entities is going to be the most likely source of replicable, sustainable actions on the required scale in the future? NGOs are seen as providing innovative and flexible approaches, but any useful assessment must consider specialist projects within the context of educational and welfare provision for **all** children. To view them in isolation can create a false impression of true value.

Initially, as proposals must accommodate the life-styles of the children, it is also relevant to consider street-based ethnographic work, and opinions of them as pupils.

#### The CHILDREN (5.1.)

Contemporary street children have come from, probably remain part of, and, almost without exception, will return to, an informal sector and some form of street-life. Failure to recognise this is seen to result in programmes which:

'...rob children of their painfully acquired street skills, take away whatever pride [they]...have as a result of having used these skills, destroy their initiative and ability to achieve independence, and then dump them back on the street - older but less able to cope in that "real world" (UNICEF 1982:7).

Educational intervention cannot be considered separately from ethnographic insights and individual attitudes concerning present lifestyles.

### Ethnographic perspectives

Global estimations as to numbers vary widely, from 30 million (Agnelli 1986:33) to 100 million (CSM 1987:B2). Impressions are sometimes more helpful than statistics. The Inter-NGO programme concludes: 'Nobody knows how many there are; they are outside all official statistics, though perfectly visible from the hotel window' (Inter-NGO 1983:3). An individual observer poses the problem lucidly: "How do you count nonpeople?" (CSM 1987:B2). Figures depend on definition. A realistic discussion from Judith Ennew suggests 7.7 million 'abandoned street children' (UNICEF 1985:40).

Latin America traditionally has the biggest problem, concentrated in Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico; a comparable situation, though not of the same magnitude, exists in the Caribbean. Reports of children living on the streets in African cities are more recent; in India and the Far East numbers are now estimated to equal those in Latin America (Agnelli 1986:35). Moslem ethics would not admit to unattached children; problems seem to arise more in respect of working children than abandoned ones, although 'school runaways' are officially recorded in Saudi Arabia (UNICEF 1985:15). Socialist states generally fail to admit to unsupported children, but document strategies to accommodate them (UNICEF 1985:25).

The ICCB Inter-NGO programme stated in 1984 that 'the abandonment of girls is far less common than in the case of their brothers' (p2). It is suggested that 'This is probably because ...girls tend to be more useful to their mothers in helping with the household and caring for the smallest', but conclude 'little research appears to have been done on this issue'. A survey in Colombia noted in 1987, 'Another little-studied change is the increase in the number of girls on the street'; it is suggested that many girls are now 'working in the same activities as their male counterparts' (UFSI 1987a.:8). Conversely in Nairobi, Dallape concludes 'I have never been told of young girls, other than infants, being abandoned in the street...Culturally it seems that girls are more protected than boys.' (1987:41). Concerning Calcutta's pavement dwellers, it is suggested that girls remain in villages because traditional roles still exist, and boys migrate because they are most likely to find employment (Jagannathan & Halder 1989:315). Research in terms of head-counts can be spurious: boys tend to employ their trades visibly on the streets, girls, especially if prostitutes, may not (see Shifter 1985:44). Social mores also dictate that institutional care is often more readily available to girls.

Causes are often mythologised. Dallape points to the futility of researching the self-evident: 'Is it useful for the policy makers? I am sure that most policy makers are very much aware of the street children and have clear ideas about the causes of their being on the street.' (1987:32). Finite

factors are, however, hard to define; estrangement is not exclusively an urban phenomenon. Colin Turnbull described how, within a rural setting, the impoverished Ik tribe 'put out' their young from the age of three. Excluded from the family hut, they slept rough in courtyards or under granaries, roaming the hills in bands seeking sustenance during the day (1974:99). Converseley, the runaway problem in metropolitan nations proves that wealth is not a panacea.

Social change appears the most significant causatory factor. In many Third World countries up to 50% of the population is now under the age of 18 (Goliber 1985); social systems are unused to this imbalance. Rapid urbanisation has been precipitated by environmental refugees, and the need for modern-sector employment. In Africa the upheaval of rural-urban migration is seen as prompting a breakdown of traditional family systems and values which causes estrangement (Swart 1988a.:34). Conversely, migration is not seen as a significant cause in South America where the shanty towns are older. Aptekar argues that the view that street children come from rural migrants is a myth (1988:175). Social pressure on young African girls to prove fertility prior to marriage is now directly related to abandonment. Infants have been found alive on rubbish tips, pushed down drains, and in dustbins. UNICEF highlights the change in gender relations in Southern Africa. Young girls are seen by boys as being 'at the bottom of the power structure in society...This leads to their being used as sexual playthings; to thousands of them finding

themselves pregnant as teenagers' (1989b.:8). However in general, because the outward appearance of "family" is absent, it should not be concluded that caring adults do not exist; rather that they do not automatically exist.

Situational 'value' is clearly relevant. Six children are an asset to a peasant with adequate land, but they acquire negative value as the sole charge of one woman in a shanty town. Prostitution and begging replace the contribution to the family budget made by agricultural labour. Olson concludes of Turkey: 'Urbanisation has increased the costs of raising children just as the economic value of children has decreased...This dual process is reversing the earlier positive relationship between costs and rewards of child rearing to one in which children are major economic liabilities.' (in Korbin 1981:9). At the extreme, children are sold into slavery or bonded (Sawyer 1988). Escape to the streets becomes the only reasonable option.

Military conflict directly espouses unsupported children: some 20,000 have sought safety in Khartoum (Taçon in ANPPCAN 1988:23). In Mozambique 200,000 children have been 'orphaned, abandoned or have lost contact with their families' (UNICEF 1989b.:31). This results in the irony of black refugee children seeking solace on South Africa's streets. The torture of children to obtain information about militant parents, as in Iraq, can create the need for sanctuary away from home (Childright 1989:9). These factors may become peripheral in the light of HIV/AIDS. In Uganda alone there are

already an estimated to be 20,000 'AIDS orphans' (UNICEF 1989a.:19).

Social change must be considered within prevailing power structures, and resultant inequity. Brazil has a formidable street child problem. In terms of GNP it was amongst the richest of the LDCs, but the poorest 40% of the populace receive only 7% of GNP (Cockburn 1989:14). In Mexico '13 year old children drive cars worth 300 months of the minimum salary and pay children of the same age to clean their windscreens' (DCI 1989:14). Paul Harrison concludes that street children represent 'more clearly than anything else, the split in the Third World between the modern city of the urban privileged, and the vaster city of the poor camped at its gates.'(1982:157).

Case histories contain familiar patterns of individual circumstances: poverty, alcoholism, step-parentage, abuse, and the need to work. There is rarely anything new in a child's story. Whilst children may cite specific reasons, these are often 'the straw that broke the camel's back', factors reflecting a culmination of events (CRY 1989a.1). Judith Ennew provides a reminder that any examination of apparent causes is confounded by the many families in difficult circumstances who do not push their young onto the streets:

Little is known about the factors which make some families or household groups pull together rather than rip apart...The magic ingredients which enable these small human miracles to take place...characterised by the words love and duty, are never taken into account by either economic or political planners...(p11)

Liv Ullmann questions why there were no abandoned children after the 1975 earthquake in Guatemala, or after the war in Nicaragua in 1979. Unsupported children had been taken in by the community: 'They weren't street children; they were "our children"' (Cov.House 1983:8). Given the conditions in many third world slums, researchers could perhaps turn their attention to examining the miracle that so many families manage to stay together, and the contribution education makes to this. Lessons may be more useful than those resulting from determining reasons for abandonment.

The children usually exist in mutually supportive groups, protected and organised by two or three older members. They may live entirely on the streets; intermittently, staying for a few days and then returning home with earnings; or sleep at home but be forced to work and generally exist there during waking hours. Peter Taçon suggests a generalised profile of 3.7% 'totally abandoned'; 7.5% 'children of the streets'; 22.25 'children on the streets'; the remaining 66.6% of the child population being 'in families' (UNICEF 1985:45).

Food can be obtained direct, resulting from begging, doing chores, scavenging or charitable act. It more usually derives from generating income which provides a degree of choice and an element of dignity. Consequently, the children tend to frequent the cosmopolitan sectors of the wealthier commercial areas, sleeping on the peripheries to avoid the police. Clothing is acquired in the same way as sustenance, but also as a result of exchange and dealing within the group.



Shelter is sought in derelict buildings, shop doorways - often by warm air-vents, and on wasteland - dustbins are favourite bedrooms (see Fig 7.). Existence is often nomadic to evade abuse, according to weather, or to maximise a particular local opportunity for income.

The police are a major source of maltreatment (Fig 8.). Apart from physical injury, the "protection" of children often constitutes a source of wage-supplement for individual officers (see DCI 1989:24). Street educators in Asuncion have experienced problems from the police, who mistook them for rivals. In the Philippines, officers have been clearly identified as pimps (Forbes in Moorehead 1989:185). Vagrancy laws, dating from colonial times (Agnelli 1986:59), and "child-care" laws based on European models (see ISMA 1986:4), provide the justification (if needed) for detention. During this police often steal the children's money (Forbes in Moorehead 1989:185). Police actions form public opinion: it is unsurprising that street children are viewed as delinquent by communities that repeatedly see them loaded into police vans.

Clear-up operations are frequent. A report from Bolivia recounts how local residents 'applauded' those carrying out one such exercise (DCI 1989:10). In Madagascar in 1985 street children 'were literally cleared off the streets by municipal tip-lorries. Dumped outside of town where they were then conducted to the former slaughter-house of Antananarivo which has been converted into an interment camp.' (DCI 1989:10). Electric shock treatment is reported, as are dousings with

Fig. 7.

"ME ON THE STREETS"



When you sleep in the  
dustbins you don't  
put the lid on top.  
Ha, ha, ha !  
Sometimes the man  
is taking you away  
with the rubbish!

Michael M. (Age 14)



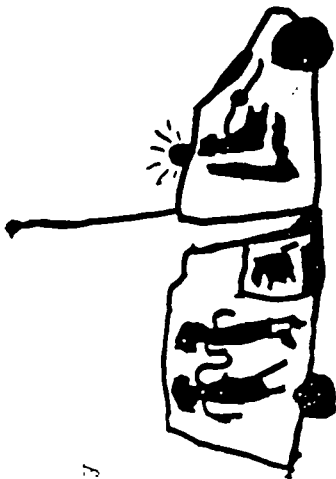
I is here sleeping  
in the box. It is  
very cold but  
no-one see me. This  
other boys is in  
the bins.

Sipho (Age 12)

Fig. 8.

POLICE HARASSMENT

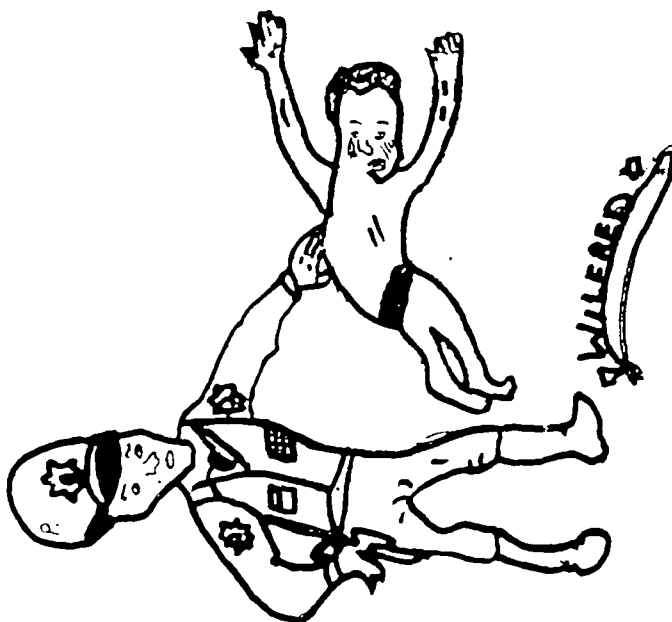
This boys are in the police van, they hold each other, here is the dog.  
(Age 11)



South African police.



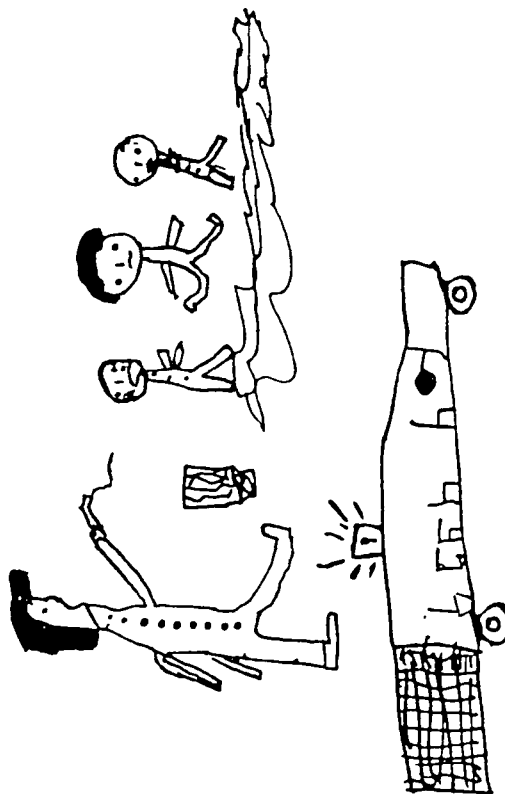
police man catch malunde



We were shining the shoes near Park Station, me and another boy. Another lady her purse is gone with the money. She call the railway police. She say it's us. The police they take us in the room, many of them, and two of them hit us on the back many times with the big belt. They also clap (slap) us with the hands. We not taking the purse.

T. (Age 11)

The boys were simply asked to draw 'The police'. These pictures were illegal within the South African state of emergency.

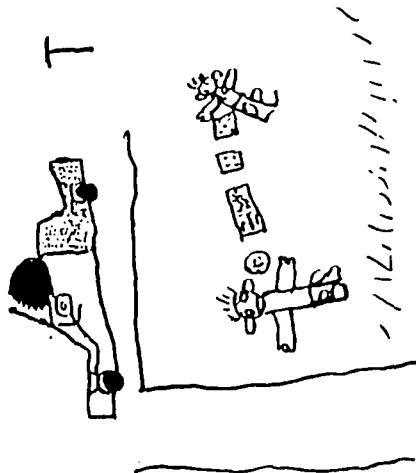


The police he come to where we sleep in Johannesburg, where we have a fire to keep warm. He throw this spray (teargas bomb) into the fire - pieces come out fast (it exploded) and hit me here - these marks on my face and here (legs) is this spray.

A. (Age 12)

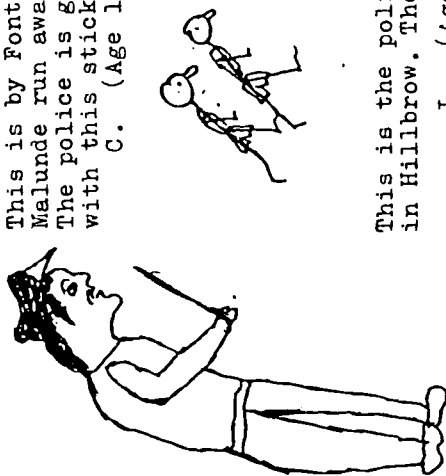
The police then  
come to catch  
this boys.  
Because they  
are playing  
dice.

T. (Age 12)



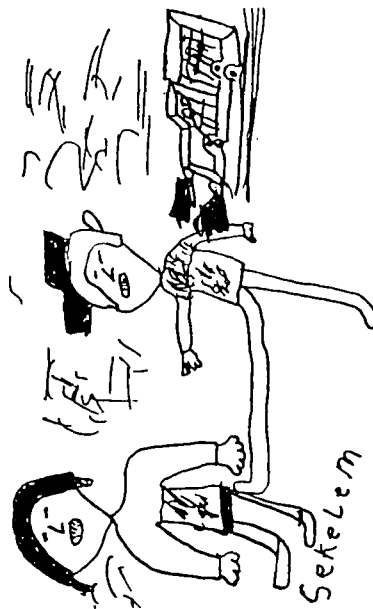
This is by Fontana (a shop). The  
Malunde run away from the police.  
The police is going to hit them  
with this stick.

C. (Age 13)



This is the police it is outside Fontana  
in Hillbrow. The police kick the boy.

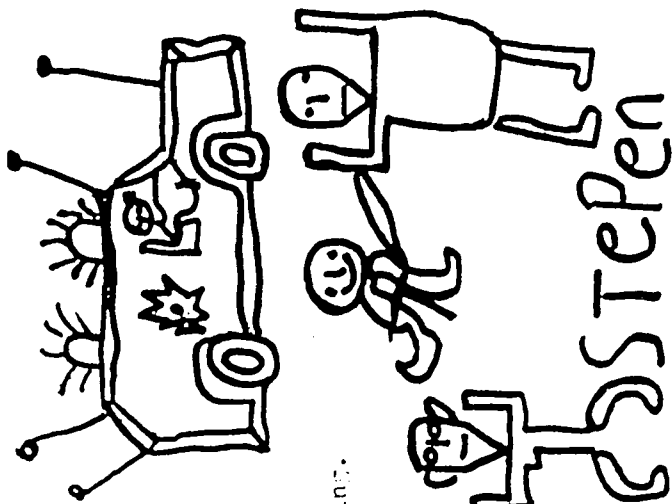
L (Age 14)



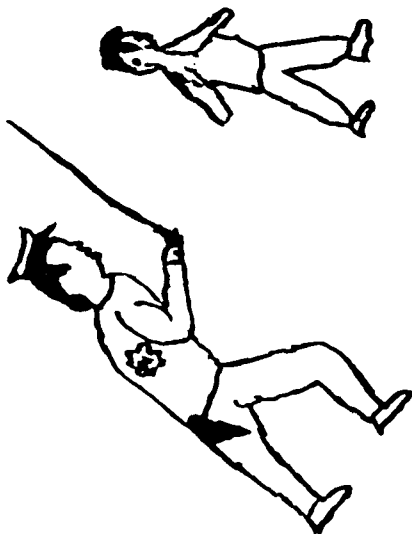
Sekelem

This is police  
car. They find  
the boys sleeping.  
He is hitting  
Charles and  
Sipho.

S. (Age 11)



In Stephen's picture  
of 'The Police' it  
is the psychological  
indications that are  
most suggestive of first  
hand experience. The  
contrition of the inturued  
feet of the assailed,  
together with their  
blank faces, as compared  
with the 'dancing'  
'smiling' policeman.



The police they never hit me but I see them  
hit other boys - at Lens - they hit them  
because they don't want them to sleep in  
the flats.

E. (Age 13)

thinners and tear-gas, or insecticide (CSM 1987:B3) (Schärf 1986:286). Beatings often result from a judicial sentence, in South Africa still termed, and manifest as, 'the cuts'. The fear of brutality is a continuing reality in the children's minds which affects relationships with all authority figures (Fig 9.). In contrast there are instances of police working well with NGO projects. In Khartoum, although vagrancy is illegal, children were permitted to sleep on the pavement outside the police station to discourage nocturnal interference from the public (BBC 1987a.). A ten-year-old from Johannesburg reports:

The police pick us up when they want the vans washed. You get a place to sleep and some bread in the morning, then they let you go (taped interview, Swart 1988a.).

Public abuse is largely unreported, but seems a frequent occurrence (Fig. 10.). Pouring petrol over sleeping children and setting fire to them seems a popular sport (CSM 1987:B4; Swart 1988a.). On a more organised level an official radio station in South America '...openly urged private individuals to do away with street children physically. The result, reportedly, was not only widespread violence but the actual killing of two youngsters, on average, every day.' (Agnelli 1986:19). UNICEF reports the lynching of street children and active 'death squads' in Brazil (1987b.:18). 'In Rio de Janeiro, dead street children have been found trussed in barbed wire, with their eyes gouged out, and even decapitated with a chainsaw' (House 1989:14). Judith Goode notes a recent shift in public attitudes in Colombia from 'sympathy and petty

Fig. 9.

FEARS RESULTING from STATE RESPONSES

Morris was simply asked to draw "Hell". The images of prison life and violence can remain a constant fear, even for those who have left street life.



MORRIS

'HELL'

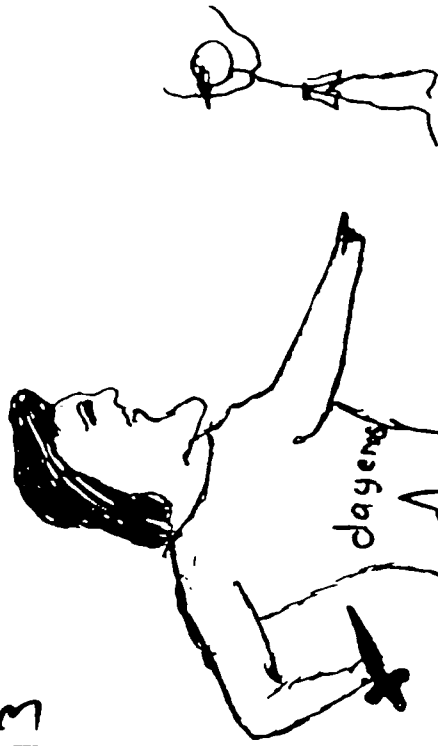
It is in like a prison cell here is the windows. They have been gambling, the man on the table did win so the two men hit him with the knife, another one up here shoots him. The man on the left helps him and also the one on the right who fights this one on the floor. This one at the top has been hung with chains. There is a bird above the black man. here is the dice and the money and a light globe. This stuff is like rain.

Morris

Fig. 10.

VIOLENCE AGAINST STREET CHILDREN

GRACE  
13



this is a very bad mane  
no one can tuck him and  
no one can kill him  
he is very dangerous  
hes the killer  
at nit wen he met you he wount  
live you hi kill you

The theme "a very bad man" can prompt  
examples of physical violence against  
the children.

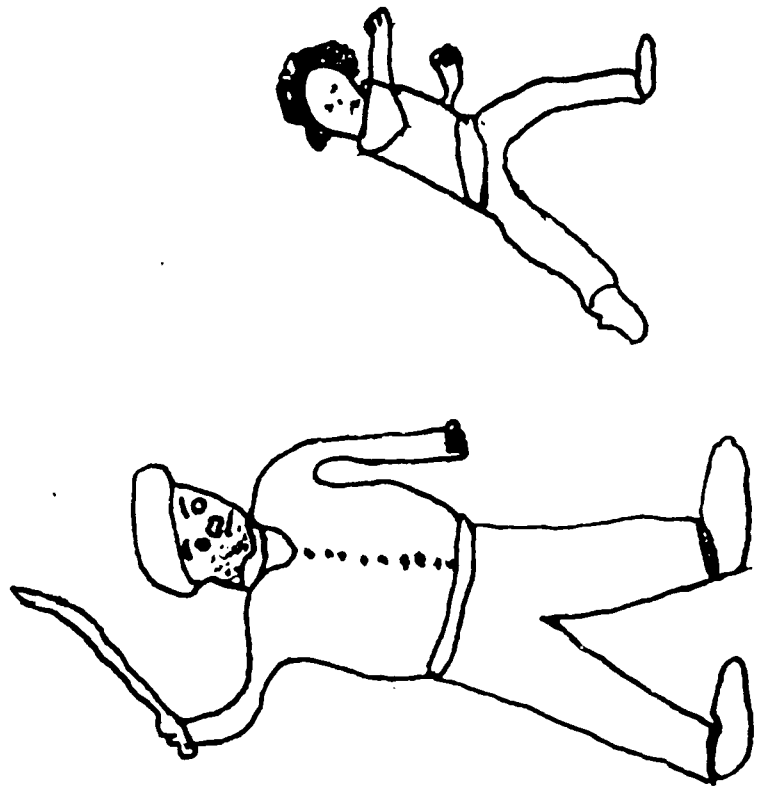
This is a malunde, he sleeps, it is in the  
veld. This man sitting on a rock, he throws a  
stone at the malunde....Yes, it is me.

Peter (Age 14)



This big man  
with the stick  
is the guard.  
This little  
one is the  
malalapipe,  
the big man  
chase this one.

Lucky  
(Age 10)



annoyance to real fear', resulting in an increase in violence against the children (UFSI 1987:2). By contrast, in India the general public displays a remarkable tolerance towards its street population.

Sexual abuse in the guise of prostitution appears widespread (see CSM 1987:B5). But activities are usually squalid rather than lucrative (Ennew 1986b.:83). Homosexual relationships between the children, although prolific, are probably no more traumatic than in British Public schools. HIV/AIDS is potentially a much more serious problem: of 121 boys tested in a Mexican hostel, 5.7% were positive (McGreal 1989:31). Exploitation through labour is difficult to evaluate as certain forms of work may be generally beneficial. An important distinction is lucidly put by the International Children's Rights Monitor: 'The major concern in the sphere of child labour is the exploitation of children at work rather than the simple fact that children are working.' (1984:10).

Preoccupation with visible hardship can disguise the fact that those concerned are still children. Many will sleep during the day and stay awake throughout the night simply because they are afraid of the dark. Traditional beliefs and practices are not dissipated by urban life. In Johannesburg, some boys fear ghosts, particularly the thokoloshe, a mythical hairy being (Fig. 11). More palpably, a few are afraid that they might be taken and cut up for muti by witch doctors; concern is not unfounded (Fig 12).



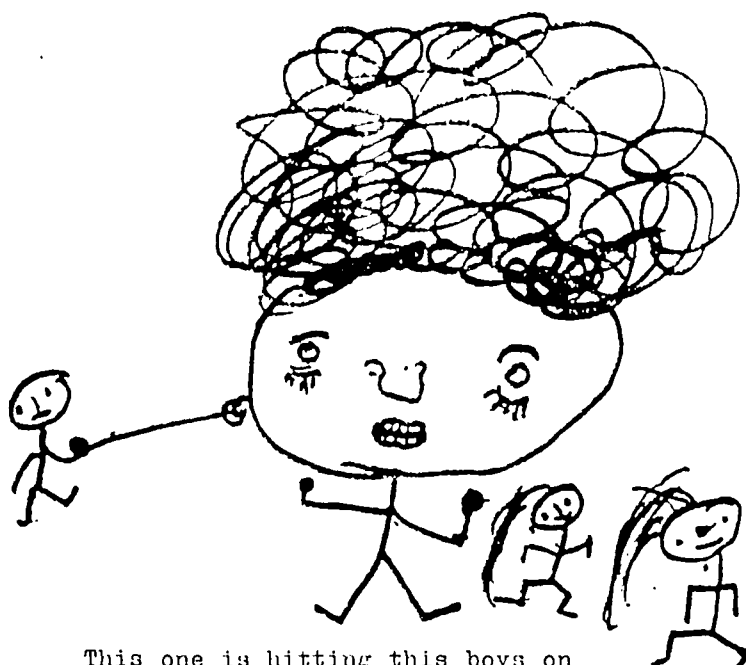
Fig. 11

CHILDREN'S FEARS - GHOSTS and "the THOKOLOSHE"



He is hitting other people at night.  
He is taking money, when he runs the money falls.  
He is a ghost.

Jeremiah (Age 14)

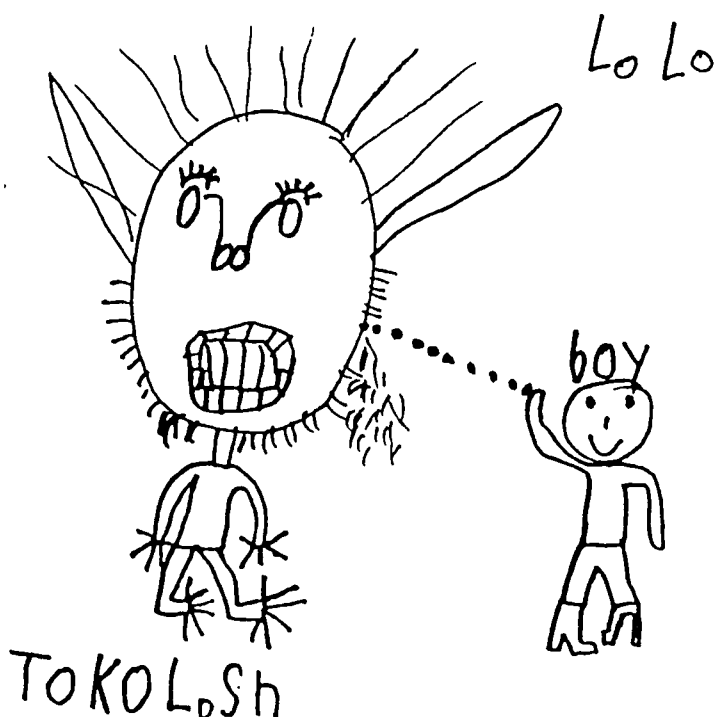


This one is hitting this boys on the head, blood is coming out. This one here (left) is hitting the thokoloshe with a stone.

David (Age 12)

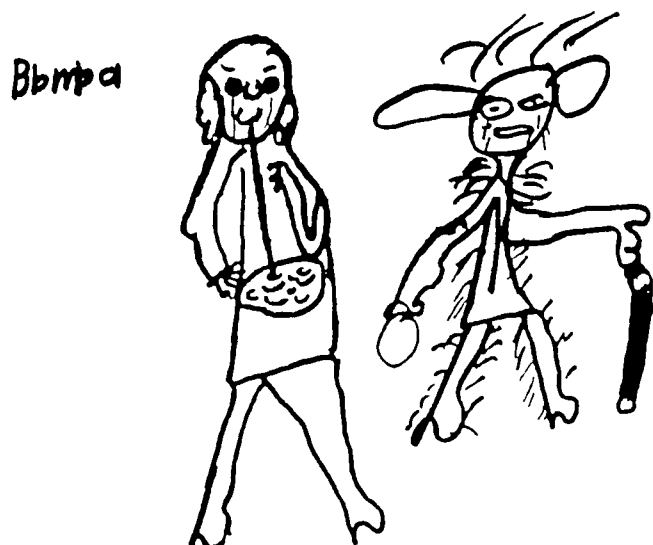


Alfred (Age 13)



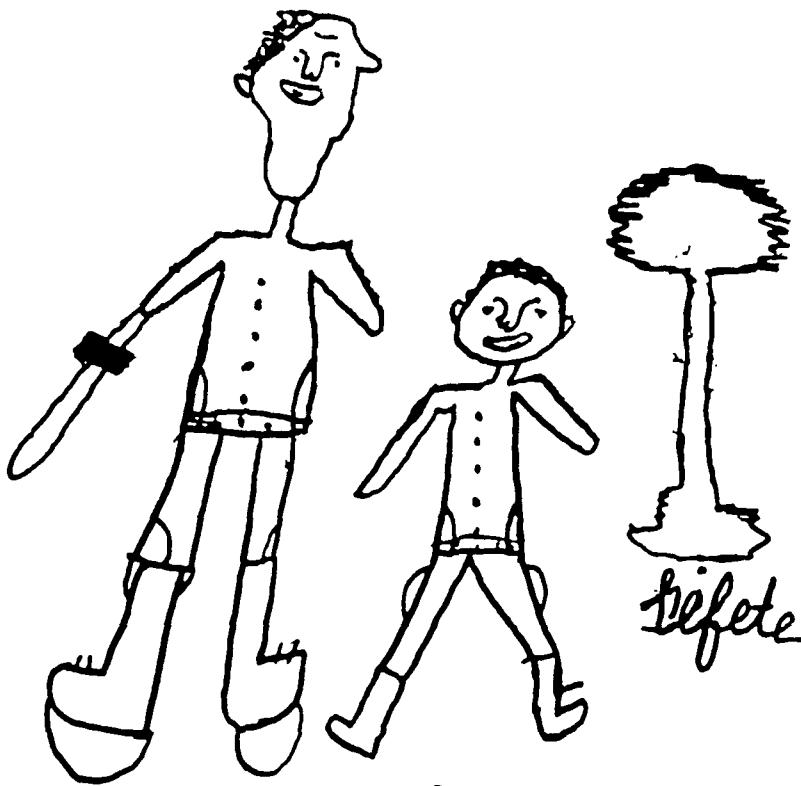
The boy he throw a stone at the thokoloshe. The thokoloshe he is very angry.

Iolo (Age 12)



This is a hairy thokoloshe, he has a stone and a stick. He wants to hit me who is eating.

Banda (Age 14)



Samuel was simply asked to draw "a bad person". His story concurs with a later magazine article which was not an isolated report.

Samuel Ramakobo. Age 14.

From Soweto. South Sotho.

#### A VERY BAD MAN

This old man steals children his name is Simon.  
This boy Therba was sent to the shops.  
The man was in a car and called the boy, "Want some sweets,  
come into the car.  
The boy got into the car and drove away to a house, the man  
killed him.  
He made muti from him, from his penis, his throat (windpipe?)  
and his lungs.  
Then he threw the body on to a rubbish place.  
The man was a sangoma.

## TRADING IN HUMAN FLESH

**In the far Northern Transvaal, human parts  
are hacked off and sold by vicious  
muti-merchants. BENSON NTLEMO tells  
the tragic story of a young boy whose penis  
was cut off, and a father of five  
whose arms were amputated and  
sold for cash**

PHOTOGRAPHY BY ABSALOM MNISI

**A** Bushbuckridge pupil deserves everyone's pity — he has had his penis cut off by a ritual killer and now he is living through hell.

Sydney Magagula's story began at the end of last year when he and another little boy, Raymond Ngobeni, were herding cattle in the veld not very far from Madras when a man called them and warned them not to run away.

"Because we did not know him, I advised the other boy that we should run away, which we did," said the 12-year-old Sydney.

"The man gave chase and I was running in front of the other boy when he left the other boy to chase me. He caught hold of me after I fell down, and he closed my mouth because I tried to scream.

"After that he sat on top of my stomach and then cut off my penis and afterwards told me to go and report the matter," Sydney told the story.

Recreation appears in the form of dice, cards and other basic games. Of more concern is the playing of gambling machines in professional arcades or small shops. This is designed to be psychologically addictive, and like drug dependency can underlie crime (Bruxelles 1988:6). Business and pleasure often combine. One merchant seaman reports that children in Mexico play noughts and crosses with tourists with a bet on who wins; they even lose the first couple of games to inspire confidence. The use of solvents and other semi-addictive substances to ameliorate intolerable circumstances and as a sleeping draught is universal (see Fig. 13). Drug use is inevitable but is often overstated. A study in Cali concluded: 'most of the children who used drugs did so as a means of self-medication for their psychological problems. Since they only had alcohol or illegal drugs, they did a fairly poor job at it.' (Aptekar 1988:206).

Whatever the apparent horrors of street life, there is need of a constant reminder that for many of the children this represents an improvement on a previous existence, and permits highly prized freedom. As Colin Ward concludes, 'The children, very wisely, prefer the casual brutality and exploitation of the street to the helping hand of the state.' (1986:23).

Current ethnography, like traditional anthropology, often emphasises difference at the expense of proposing similarity. There is also little knowledge of what street children think of home and host adult groups, how they view and are viewed by other children, or even what they think of one another. Simply

Fig. 13.

"WHAT I SEE IN MY HEAD WHEN I SMOKE [sniff] GLUE"

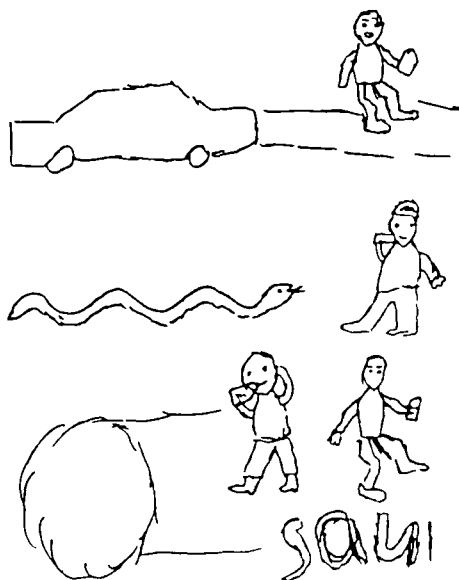


He thinks of a mother and little ones, little ones is his sisters. He is crying because he thinks of mother and sisters.

Banda. (Age 14)

Bahda

Drawings of hallucinations can provide a basis for suggesting alternatives to behaviour which often remains undiscussed for fear of condemnation.

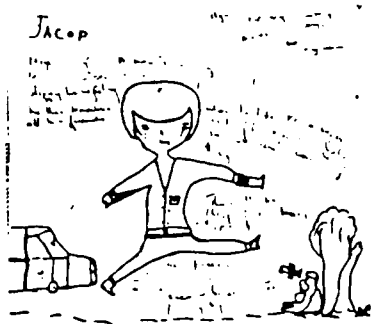
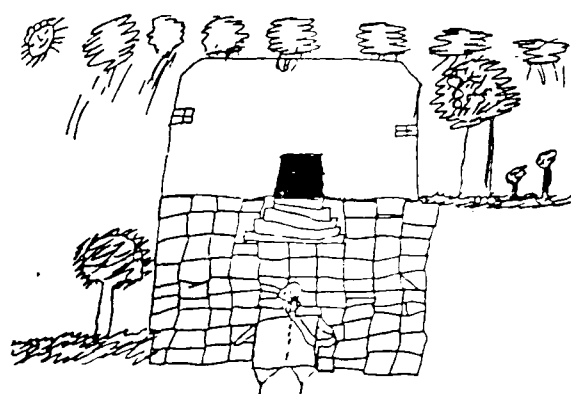


When I'm smoking the glue I get very scared. Many things are coming to get me; the cars and the big snake. It wants to eat me. I also see the big hole. It wants to swallow me. I run but it is difficult to get away.

Saul (Age 12)

This is me, smoking glue. Everything moves, nothing is still. The trees are very big and very small and they move forwards and backwards. This house it rocks sideways. It is a very large house. The door opens and shuts and the steps break up while I am watching them.

Michael (Age 11)



Jacob's story is a classic case of 'not me but my friend says'!- I'm not taking the glue. This man he's smoking it. When you high you feel good but then you cry for nothing. This man he's running. He's scared because he thinks the car will ride over him. He's crying because he think about his friends. When you smoke the glue your head tells you to do bad things, you don't care. You want to go to sleep. When you wake up you hungry. The glue makes you go mad.

Jacob (Age 11)

requesting drawings under the headings 'good people' and 'bad people' can suggest some of the children's perceptions of those around them. Who would have predicted that a policeman would come at the top of Christopher's list of 'good people'? (Fig. 14). This type of knowledge is fundamental to any form of integrative strategy: what hope is there for 'rehabilitation' or 'reintegration' if proponents are unaware of what those concerned think of one another?

### "Pupil type"

Informed individual opinion as to the nature and abilities of street children is varied and emotive. Apparent attitudes to schooling vary according to source. A British, former progressive school headmaster, Richard Holloway, working informally with street children in Ecuador found that:

When the possibilities of attending school were presented to them these were eagerly accepted. They tended to identify themselves as scholars and therefore a cut above their former associates on the street (in Ward 1978:61).

But the director of a government child welfare department portrays a different experience:

These children have experienced adolescent freedom without care and responsibility; when they are asked to participate in occupational training activities which involve discipline and hard work, they do not like it...(UNICEF 1987b.:20).

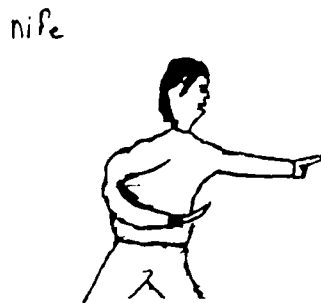
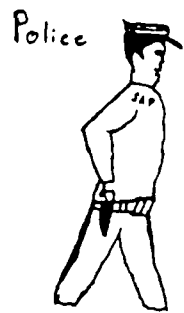
The aggregate is probably little different from any group of children.

Contemporary opinion concerning inherent worth is often akin to that of Victorian observers. The Chilean writer Ariel Dorfman provides a non-partisan view:

Good christopher Bad

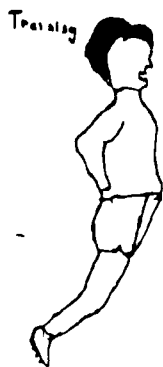
Fig. 14.

"GOOD" and "BAD" PEOPLE



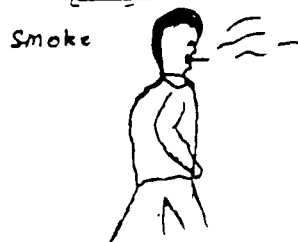
Police

Knife



Training

House  
breaker



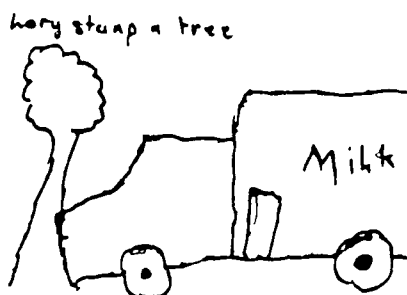
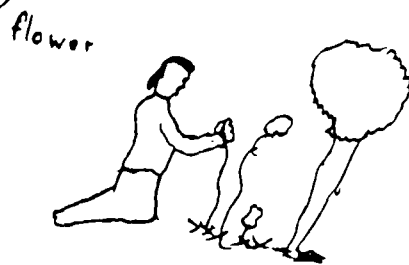
Kung fu

Smoke



A singing  
man

Shooting  
birds



Flower

Lorry hits  
a tree



Church

Fighting  
for money



Love each  
other

Kill his  
friend

...in order to survive, they have acquired certain skills and, moreover, values, which will stand them in good stead in their adult incarnations. They are extremely vivacious, observant, and alert; they are critical and tend to voice their own frank opinions on matters; they value group solidarity and care for the weakest; and they honour their promises. But perhaps their most prominent trait is feistiness, a certain pride in their own capacity (1984:5).

Dorfman does not reinforce the psycho-educative view that street children are disturbed, require therapy, or have a low self image. Of a child who challenged him, as an equal, to a spelling game he writes:

In that boy's world, adults don't let children win. Since birth, he has been told that he is garbage, the refuse of society, and should be unable to challenge anybody to anything. And yet, he is able to look at himself without despising his own history (p5).

This is in accord with a formal study in Johannesburg which found that of third of the group: 'Their intellectual performance and problem-solving capacities are way above what one would predict from even better backgrounds...They also show little evidence of psychological damage or psychopathology' (Richter 1988b.:78). By contrast, Bill Myers emphasises the negative developmental aspects: a fear of violence, low self-esteem, and the reality latent within street bravado and idealised visions of comradeship:

Often they were poorly socialised, lacking even rudimentary skills in co-operation and peaceful conflict resolution with their peers. Although they were shrewd and tough, they were adapted to a particular environment outside of which they were poorly prepared to succeed (s.a.:6).

It is difficult to detect to what degree the nature of the children or that of the observers is at variance.

Studies limited to school-based achievement often rate abilities as minimal. A South African psychologist asserts:

...the longer the children spent on the streets, the worse their prognosis for educational rehabilitation. Not only did they progressively lose the basic educational skills they might have picked up in a few years of schooling, but they began to acquire handicaps. The longer the boys had spent on the street, the more likely it was that they would show indications of cognitive and perceptual dysfunction (Richter 1988a:11).

There is no mention of what might have been learned on the streets, and no explanation as to how a boy with regressive 'cognitive and perceptual dysfunction' might have managed to stay alive through his wits since the age of seven. The main impediment to 'educational rehabilitation' at this time was the closure of schools due to the boycotts and intimidation by the 'comrades'. Even when functioning, amongst the 'the basic educational skills' on offer at black schools was the chance to study Silas Marner! The reality is that about half of those concerned cannot demonstrate literacy skills (Swart 1988a.:102), which must be set against a literacy rate for the general adult populace (including whites) of just 76% (Africa Insight 1987:92). Some of those concerned were easily reintegrated into a standard school setting and won prizes (Heard 1989:11); others are destined for manual work. Little different, in fact, from the profile of black South African children in general.



A unifying factor within NGOs is a tremendous expression of faith in the children who they support: 'When nature and nurture are reconciled, youngsters with the grimmest histories can show an astonishing power of recuperation.' (Inter-NGO 1984:1). Peter Tacon of CHILDSHOPE in Guatemala provides a similar though more partisan view (in CSM 1987:B4): 'There's a wonderful human ingredient in these children that you can't find anywhere else...and that is the ingredient of prophecy, of hope.'.

#### Formal self-help

There are many enthusiastic recounts of the children contributing formally towards solutions of their own problems. In Costa Rica it is reported that children built 'a whole village on their own' (Cove.House 1983:8). Seniors at the **Bosconia-La Florida** project in Bogotá run the primary school system and act as instructors (Dorfman 1984:6;7). 1986 saw the 'First National Seminar for Street Children, planned and conducted by the children themselves', in Brasilia (Tacon in ANPPCAN 1988:25). The event grew from local workshops; 'children, who perceived themselves as powerless and without a voice, learned how to speak out, how to organise' (Taco in Neustatter 1987). The main theme of the conference was violence, on the streets and in society generally. Resultantly, UNICEF has been supporting self-advocacy efforts to counter state violence against the children (UNICEF 1988b.:31). A similar event took place in Bombay in 1989. The **Sadak Chhap Mela** culminated in the proposal that the children

would hold similar monthly meetings in each district, taking up issues 'of children who express desires to go home, want to undergo training, or to experiment with a new skill'. Some children are to be trained so that they can 'seek meetings with police officials, the state government officials, and with other administrators' (CRY 1989a.:10).

Assisting individuals to share personal experience is becoming more evident. A former Brazilian street child Paulo Collen, has recently published an autobiography **Mais Que a Realidade** (1987). Self-determination is also an important facet. In Rio de Janeiro, 'Hundreds of street children marched in protest of the random violence to which they are subjected with banners proclaiming "We want the right to be children" "We want the right to live with justice"' (Childhope 1987:9). In the Philippines children protested about sexual exploitation with banners: 'Please don't sell us' (Forbes in Moorehead 1989:182). A UNICEF backed research programme in Bombay, recognising the usual remoteness of such initiatives, involved children 'in all levels of the study - from creating the questionnaire, to locating children and administering the questionnaire' (CRY 1989a.:4). The FUNABEM/UNICEF evaluation concludes that good programmes should help the children to 'transform themselves from victims of situations to protagonists of their own lives' (UNICEF 1987a.:18). The rationale is logical: 'Activists by necessity, they are accustomed to assuming responsibility and taking the initiative in meeting their needs' (UNICEF 1988a.:4).

Proposals that the **Child-to-child** programme, which produces material specifically for co-figurative teaching, may be applicable to street child education also exemplifies the self-help ethos (Agnelli 1985:95). The LINGAP centre in Manila is experimenting with this approach (Child-to-child 1989). In Honduras, one programme provides newspaper vendors with a free meal and 'family-life' education, expecting them to be 'messengers and teachers' when they return home (UNICEF 1984:12). Child-to-child produces an activity sheet 'Helping children who do not go to school' (1989:1.4.). It suggests that school children can assist those who are excluded by talking about the day's lessons, helping with counting reading and writing, and sharing knowledge especially about health. Teachers are encouraged to ask each day what has been passed on.

However, the faith, optimism, and excitement of participatory responses can be misleading. Most street children still exist well beyond the reach of adults who can put them in the position to contribute towards the solutions to their own problems.

#### The RESPONSE of the STATE (5.2.)

In some of the early metropolitan centres of what has become the third world, provision for unsupported children by the state religions appeared similar to that of Rome. Constantinople espoused hospitals, a 'home of penance for fallen women', 'multi-purpose institutions...[and] general

asylums for the needy and homeless of every kind' (Uhlhorn: 1883:329-30). Later under Islamic influence, similar arrangements existed within the environs of the Istanbul Mosques. At the Süleymaniye (est. 1500-50) along with a hospital, a soup kitchen, and extensive school buildings was a special school for 'orphans' (**Sibyan Mekteb**). In 16th century Kano in Nigeria, parents could give surplus children to the palace as slaves, but unlike the European foundling homes original identity was not lost (Last 1989:3).

The next epoch of state concern derived directly from colonial practice. As early as 1880 the Mexican government had founded a Correctional School (La Escuela Correccional) which encompassed 'boys that have been gathered in from the streets as vagrants, and appear to have no home.' (Steelman 1907:73). Other establishments there existed in parallel with European counterparts: Charity Schools, Foundling Asylums, Industrial Schools, a Children's Home. Steelman's review suggests that provision was little different in type to that in Europe.

Examples from The League of Nations survey of 1934 provides a picture of the start of this century. India claimed 'rescue homes, orphanages, reformatory schools' (p164); Mexico had '6 reformatories, Industrial Schools, Guidance Schools'; abandoned children in Brazil might enter a 'home, training centre or school' (Addendum p2). In the Argentine there was a 'National colony of Minors' which only took those 'who have never been convicted, and is exclusively intended for abandoned and destitute children' (p27). Even Siam, without

direct colonial influence, boasted a Reformatory on the Island of Koh si Chang run by the police, for 80 boys, which taught Buddhism and provided vocational training (p229).

Subsequent general intent is exemplified by Ecuador: custodial reformatories and children's colonies were supplemented by preventive 'homes'; in the 1960s 'observation homes' and 'dwelling houses' were conceived; the 1970s saw 'transition homes, vocational schools, youth training centres' intended to replace 'correction houses' (UNICEF 1987e.11,12).

At the present time, 'the standard response of most governments towards the problem of abandoned children is institutionalisation.' (DCI 1989:25). Many such establishments are erroneously called schools. Those "in need of care" are frequently contained with "delinquents", for example in the Houses of Minors in Chile and Colombia (see Tomasevski 1986:27). Institutional care is often blatant interment: in Chile children are 'locked away for 15 hours daily in cells', and the other 9 hours are spent in a courtyard (DCI 1989:26). Government involvement generally reflects a continuance of two colonial structures: institutions entirely within state control which tend to cater for children referred via the courts, and the partial funding of NGOs which additionally accept children on the basis of need. The backgrounds of those within these two types of establishment are often little different - except that those within the former got caught.

**Defence for Children International** defines four types of state institutional provision: reception centres (to avoid

children being detained with adults); observation centres; open and closed residential institutions; semi-residential centres (DCI 1989:25). Within this structure, the intended process is usually of 'reception', 'observation', and 'rehabilitation' (Agnelli 1985:63). In reality the pattern is more often institutional limbo and irrational release.

The imprisonment of children from the age of seven with adults often reported. In Turkey it is alleged that street children are rounded up for the tourist season (de Souza BBC 1988a.). Defence for Children International reports life inside prison:

"Take the case of Edyan, the street urchin who arrived last week having been arrested for stealing a pack of biscuits. It's the first time he's ever been in trouble. The kid is only nine years old...the night of his arrival he was raped by all the older boys as part of the traditional jailhouse initiation rite." (De Souza in DCI 1988:10).

Although adult educational programmes exist, it is not possible to start classes for children because officially their stay in prison is only temporary (DCI 1988:17,31,56). In Indian prisons it is reported that 'trained teachers competent to impart elementary literacy are employed, but they are mostly found helping the administration...[child prisoners] work, not towards their own rehabilitation, but to help the management make ends meet.' (Tomasevski 1986:113).

In Bihar children have been moved out of prisons and into remand homes. These have been renamed 'observation centres', but are considered 'Worse than the gaols': the prisons at least benefited from inspection (Chisholm in Moorehead

1989:83). One such centre contained three types of child: 'undertrials', boys convicted of an offence, and boys in need of care and protection - usually orphans, lost or destitute boys'. The description is Dickensian:

...the superintendent, a severe-looking elderly woman with iron-grey hair drawn back in a bun, seated behind her desk, on which lay a large lathi, the Indian police truncheon...The place was bare and grimy...There was a strong smell of sewage...Around the open gallery various boys were hanging around staring at us. They were dressed in dirty white;...wooden beds were crammed side by side; a few rags and towels hung on strings along the walls...One boy of about fifteen was telling us that he had not done anything wrong and was afraid he would never get out of the place...Two older boys were planing wood; this was described as a carpentry workshop. Otherwise there was no sign of any recreational or educational space or facilities, and certainly no room for exercise (p84).

There are 40,000 children in 700 such institutions in India (Baig 1989:6). A report from Chile points to the irony that a child may be interned in such an observation centre for several years, although an adult under suspicion can only legally be kept in prison for five days (DCI 1989:26).

Near Sao Paulo, the FEBEM reformatory, 'In fact...a prison where homeless children are thrown with juvenile delinquents and young murderers', is attempting change for its 2600 inmates (di Robilant in Moorehead 1989:24). The contrast between the units is striking (p25):

In the more liberal ones the children had sunny rooms, learned a trade in the workshops, played sports and even organised theatre shows...The children who work in the vegetable garden earn half the minimum wage... In the closed units they sleep in gloomy cells, were not allowed to speak during meals and spent day after day in a crowded courtyard surrounded by walls so high the sun never shone over them.

Another aspect of FEBEM explains why European Foundling Hospitals were not cited in penal institutions:

...an eerie sight: over a hundred rusty metal cribs stacked in a huge pile..."You can't imagine how many destitute mothers bring their babies here to FEBEM because they can't afford to feed them. So they grow up here and go through the cycle, starting out in those metal cribs there and ending up as criminals" (p26).

At least the cloistered Foundling Hospitals of medieval-Victorian Europe failed to act as such unmitigated cradles of crime.

In the Cameroun, the **Centre d'accueil et d'observation de Bepandadouala** combines the functions of a reception and observation centre. The site is open and rural in appearance; the inmates are almost exclusively from the streets (Itoua 1984:50). The main educational problem is seen as a need to compensate for the fact that many older children require primary level instruction. The centre aims to inculcate a manual or academic work ethic [gout du travail], discipline and obedience (p52). Although photographs of the children do not display happy contentment, there are plenty of activities: a football pitch, craft work, agricultural activity. The contrast between this and the Indian home emphasises the point that humane state action is a matter more of political will and local initiative, than of GNP.

The Thai government supports 18 residential schools for orphans or poor children to 'prevent them from being drawn into the labour market'. They live in dormitories of fifty 'with no personal property other than their school uniform',



but facilities are reported to be 'adequate...and the children seem happy and healthy' (Streetwise Int. 1987). Semi-residential support is less frequent. The **Hogares Escuelas** in the Dominican Republic cater for technically abandoned children and orphans, providing weekday residential schooling. At the weekends the children stay with responsible adults or former pupils (DCI 1989:25). By contrast the **Amba** village project in Ethiopia reflects a totalitarian solution; it aims to accommodate 5,000 street children (Agnelli 1985:67). The new military government in Sudan is said to be creating similar large-scale solutions to the problem of vagrancy (personal report).

A major evaluative response was undertaken in Brazil under the title **The Alternative Service Programs on Street Children** (ASPoSC). From 1980, the National Child Welfare Foundation (FUNABEM) assisted by UNICEF, attempted to determine a nationwide policy by identifying effective existing interventions, and developing efficient dissemination methods. An initial study redefined the problem as principally that of 'exploited...unprotected working children...', existing mainly on the streets; of whom 'a surprising number managed to go to school...[but] attendance by those who did was often so sporadic that they never really became literate' (Myers s.a.:2;5). The evaluation focussed on NGO provision which was seen as providing creative, flexible, inexpensive strategies with a fundamental respect for the children. It was concluded that a rich corpus of knowledge already existed

within the country, although communication between projects was minimal. As a result the project involved over 7000 individuals, formulated some 60 publications and audiovisuals, and by 1986 had set up about 40 community-based 'commissions' to promote the needs of street children (UNICEF 1987a.:28). The application of findings to state education, however, seems not to have been considered.

Another UNICEF joint initiative, in Mexico, was established around ethnographic study of the children rather than evaluating projects (1987d.). The **National System for Integral Development of the Family** (Municipal DIF), as the name suggests, was not seeking institutional or idiosyncratic answers. The resultant methodology proposes an integrated process rather than static solutions. This was viewed in two phases:

1. **Recovery and rehabilitation:** interaction with the children, community involvement, development of the physical environment including schools, 'unadaption to the street environment', reintegration into a family environment, encouragement self-support (p24).

'Street educators' are guided by Freirian principles: 'Children should not be labelled...to remove prejudice we must learn from them; they are "managers" and protagonists...we should search with them for solutions. This is not a programme operating in function of objectives..."we're heading towards a goal...but every day we have to fine-tune the "how", every day implies a search...it's a dynamic process" (p22).

2. **Prevention and maintenance:** consolidation of effective projects, continuous training, monitoring high-risk areas, facilitating continuity within political flux, coordinating actions with other projects, advocacy on the children's behalf.

Preventive work in primary schools was fundamental to the second phase. Teachers were contacted and encouraged to identify and report children 'at risk' from recourse to street-life. The community is also educated as to the dangers of the streets; school children are 'encouraged to become educators within their own homes', for example by teaching mothers to read and write.

A similar initiative in Ecuador, **Accion Guambras**, was firmly against institutional approaches, proposing instead:

...an open method characterised by community participation...which provides care for supports, and fosters the children in urban centres, for whom the street is an environment for survival. Within this milieu they are offered a service package, and their will to partake is respected (UNICEF 1987e.:15).

The 'street promoter' assumes the role of 'axis, creator, and motivator' (p16). Within 'the child's vital space, the street', services encompass nutritional and medical support, health education, sports and theatre (p21). Educational input is well determined: assistance with homework; reading and writing classes to consolidate elementary education; contributing to the purchase of school supplies; liaison with school teachers (p23).

By complete contrast, the training of unattached children by internal security services such as M - 19 in Colombia, and militarisation, is the most contentious aspect of state involvement. Peter Taçon quotes President Daniel Ortega, '"They have learned every trick of survival in the wars of the street", Taçon continues, 'they can be trained into super-warriors, happily trading off the dangers of losing a non-life for the opportunities of heroism and martyrdom.' (in ANPPCAN 1988:22). Iran, the Philippines, Nicaragua, and El Salvador feature as protagonists. It is clear that some form of educative process is used to motivate and militarise children. At the Wantan Orphanage in Kabul, three-year-olds 'obediently shout their Marxist slogans about a war that was way beyond their comprehension...Next door the class of four-year-olds punched the air with their right fists, shouting in unison: "We will be the heroes of our country" (McGrory 1989:18).

Although emotive, it cannot be ignored that some form of military service may be a viable option. An Indian journalist suggests street children's temporary 'recruitment for a non-permanent land army...they could become valuable citizens because the army has training facilities far superior to civilian resources.' (Baig 1989:6). The MANOF project in Israel utilizes the prestige of acceptance for army service as a goal, providing continued remedial education for conscripts.

State responses represent arbitrary application of law and ideals, and inconsistent distribution of social services.

As such they create an atmosphere of injustice which can never be conducive to state/populace harmony. The child who has the misfortune to end up in prison is not ignorant that many of those of equatable circumstances remain at liberty or, through luck, receive benign support. The child says, "Why me?" A cadre bearing the mark of unexplained differentiation or random state victimisation is unlikely, in later life, to practice integral human justice requisite to a harmonious society.

#### INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE (5.3.)

Individual responses appear in the form of advocacy, tutelage which exploits personal circumstances, and benign home-based actions, but the scale of this activity appears less widespread than in 19th century Europe.

#### Advocacy

In Guatemala, children from the streets are frequently in the waiting room of Judge Aura Marína Marcucci Roca of the National Juvenile Court. Her message echoes the work of the 'blind beak', Sir Henry Fielding.

These children are regarded as nothing more than delinquents. People want to punish them and put them in institutions. But when they understand why these children get into trouble, they are willing to give practical help (CSM 1987:20).

Unfortunately examples such as these seem rare.

Literary portrayal is evident, although not an established part of many third world cultures. A best selling Brazilian novel of the early 1970s, *O Meu Pé de Laranja Lima*

by José Mauro de Vasconcelos, concerned Zezé, '"the most ingenious entrepreneur among the shoe-shine boys of the city, superb at conning rich customers, untiring in his efforts to help support his huge, hungry, angry, penniless family, and absolutely unable to curb his infinities of leftover energy and inspiration"' (Ward 1978:60). On a local level, individuals have produced well researched booklets for public information. A notable example is from Asuncion. **En la Calle** is presented in an intelligent, upbeat style with pictures, case histories and diagrams, depicting the lifestyle and problems of the city's street children in simple, direct language (Espínola et al 1987).

The cinema has generally superseded Dickensian style presentation. General public awareness now stems from a steady chronology of films: **Limpiabota** (Shoeshine) (1946), **Los Olvidados** (The forgotten ones) (1950), **Los Gamines** (1974), **Los Ninos Abandonados** (1975), **El Gamin** (1979), **Yusev and Kenan** (Turkey: 1979). Many films have employed actual street children, and whether the outcome is education or exploitation is uncertain. The street child star of **Pixote** (1981) returned to street life and was killed in a police shoot-out (di Robilant in Moorehead 1989:27). Those who acted in **Salaam Bombay** (1988) are back on the Bombay streets despite a substantial trust fund which exists for their benefit.

An interesting approach is found on the postcard stalls of Turkey (Fig. 15. a.b.c.). The impact of poetry amongst Turks, as in most Islamic cultures, is very strong. One

Fig. 15. The USE of POSTCARDS to PUGLICISE the CIRCUMSTANCES  
of STREET CHILDREN (Turkey and Palestine)



(a.)

'While in hell, they  
feel as if they are  
in heaven.'

Onlar, cehennem içinde cennet gibiler

METİN GUVEN



(b.)

'With joy he went out into  
the streets. In the morning  
he strolled from one edge  
of the city to the other. He  
broke all the windows of the  
city as he charged from  
street to street. He changed  
the address of loneliness in  
his heart. Sparrows were  
flying amongst his hair but  
never touched a strand.'

Sevinçle fırladı sokağa. Sabah  
bir uçtan bir uca dolaşarak kenti  
bütün camlarını kırdı evlerin  
Sokakların yerini değiştirdi  
hüznün yerini kalbindeki  
yalnızlığın adresini  
Serçeler uçuyordu.  
Saçlarının arasında  
bir onlara dokunmadı

REFİK DÜRBAS

GRAFIK A 001 İLKİZ SOK. 18/3 ANK.

LEWIS HINE

Aslında bir dünya bırakmalıydık size  
Ki mutluluk kapınızda öten kanarya  
Sevinç, ilkyaz güneşi gibi pencerenizde

ÖZGEN SEÇKİN



(c.)

'We were willing to grant  
you a world in which  
happiness would have  
been like the canary  
singing at your door,  
so that joy could have  
been like the outset  
of summer at your  
windows.'



(d.)



(e.)

زهدي المدوي  
1982-9/10  
مقتل اسفان



Turkish observer commented on the style of presentation, "There is safety in ambiguity.". This was with particular reference to the depiction of children behind a fence which was taken to imply imprisonment (c.). Similarly, the Palestinian Political Prisoners Committee produce a card suggesting the link between military strife and war-vagrant children (e.). An apparently less benign portrayal, reflecting an increasing appearance of children in pseudo-pornographic poses on postcards, is also evident from Turkey. Even if unintentional, a picture of a pristine waif giving a come-on wink, who is clearly having trouble keeping his trousers on, presents a questionable message (d.) (see Ennew 1986b.:125).

Advocacy, unless intelligently conceived, can reinforce a impression of the children as a dissonant element of the community. Stating that street life is not synonymous with crime, for example, may have the effect of suggesting that it might be. Balancing the adult interpretation through the presentation of the children's own view of their world, can diminish this possibility (Fig. 16).

### Exploitive tutelage

Exploitation thrives on the absence of alternatives. Reports have a familiar ring. In Calcutta local residents request that money is not given to children, because, in terms reminiscent of the Tudor Poor Laws, 'they are organised by crooks who exploit and train them to a lifetime of beggary' (Chisholme in Moorehead 1989:71). Similarly from the Philippines: 'Membership of gangs has given them varied skills for

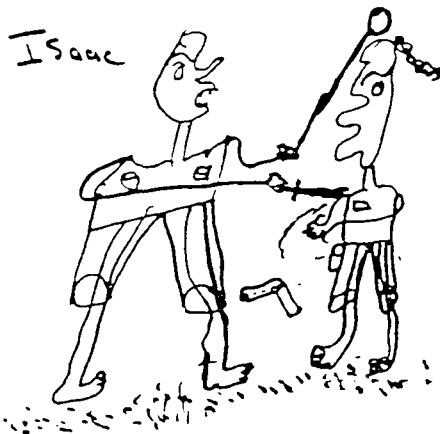
Fig. 16.

**DRAWINGS as a MEANS of SELF-ADVOCACY**  
(From a publicity brochure for PROsCESS)

The combination of street children's drawings and an adult view provides an effective means of presentation to the general public. It also permits the children concerned to feel that they are part of the process of solving their own problems, even if illiterate

Whenever you hear of killings and social unrest in South Africa the end result will probably be a few more street children.

(SIS about street children)

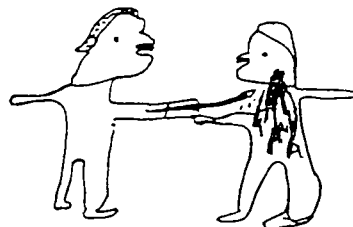
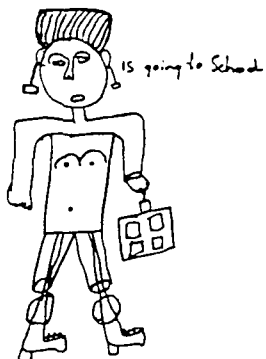


He is poor, he has no clothes.  
His hands are broken.  
He wants a place to stay.

(Sigpho, age 9)

I was at school, beatings gave,  
but they burn at so I ran away  
to the streets.

(David, age 16)

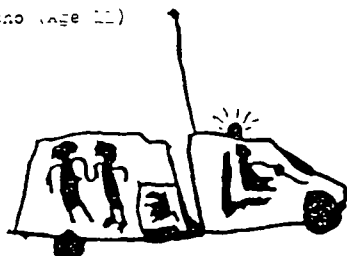


Peter had witnessed both parents stabbed to death by a debt collector, he stayed alone in the back yard of his house for three days before he was found.

(Jill Swart)

This boys are in the police van, the  
hold each other, here is the dog.

Sigpho (age 11)



When two elephants fight  
it is the grass that gets crushed.

(African proverb)

survival. Stealing from passers-by and tourists-clients is one art they have mastered' (Forbes in Moorehead 1989:183). An Indian newspaper relates that rural children

'arrive homeless in a city and become attached to the first person who befriends them...it might be a drug peddler, the youth gang of a political **dada** or a group involved in drugs and theft, all of whom look upon such new recruits as useful human material. It is ironic that they recognise this human resource long before social workers and planners!' (Baig 1989:6).

Exploitation need not be overtly criminal. All child labour entails some form of basic training; it is the degree of eventual benefit to, or abuse of, the child which determines the unacceptability of an action. In Senegal, under the guise of religious betterment, the young 'talebé' boys, aged between 5 -11, are attached to Islamic tutors (marabout). Living in itinerant groups of up to 25, the children provide for their mentor by going from door to door reciting Koranic verses. 'When the instruction comes to an end, the youngsters were merely left to their own devices.' Only 20% of parents try to find their children after the 'course' is complete (Inter-NGO 1984:3).

The use of unsupported children for non-state military activities is little publicised but evident. The Colombian government is concerned that potential street youth are absorbed by 'paramilitary groups, narcotic traffickers, guerrillas' (ICBF 1989:13). It is known that in Peru, Sendero Luminoso has recruited and trained orphans within its Young Pioneers (Smith 1989:8).

These endeavours facilitate skill training, work experience, income generation, welfare support, pride and sociability. In effect they are often model street child projects. Exploitive tutelage is formidable competition for mainstream or NGO schooling. To solve a social problem it is often useful to observe the reasons for success of the entities which contribute to that problem: there is something to be learned from rival provision.

#### Home-based initiative

As in other spheres, European influence is also present in home-based endeavour. For example, Robin Copping was the headmaster of an English progressive school closed by the Minister of Education in 1949. He exiled himself in Ecuador, earning his living collecting zoological specimens. Here he ran clubs for street boys, and paid them to attend lessons to ensure no loss of income (Ward 1986:23).

In Swaziland, 87-year-old Mrs McCaulcanwell is a vestige of colonial-style philanthropy. Her farm has always provided a home for itinerant children, who now in turn take care of their bedridden benefactor. The newest arrival was a three-month infant left by a woman fleeing Mozambique. Knowledge has been informally passed from young to old permitting them to run the household, grow their basic provisions, and occasionally find employment.

**Childhope** in Guatemala is attempting to develop informal public response through organising local individuals as 'informal educators - to make contact with the children, to

sit among them and listen to them...they can perhaps lead them to education, to learn a skill...' (Neustatter 1987). Instigation is external but implementation local.

Concluding a review of World Bank involvement with education in Africa Françoise Cailloas suggests 'recognising or reinforcing existing traditional forms of education' (1989:129). Facilitating endogenous socio-educative strategies represents the most congruous form of remediation; yet it is a largely unexplored area of debate.

#### NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS (NGOs) (5.4.)

The roots of charitable endeavour in the older colonies are not dissimilar to those in Europe. Within 40 years of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, the Catholic Church had founded an orphanage for girls, **La Caridad** (est.1548) (Herbermann 1911:323). Later institutions such as the orphan asylum in Bogotá, run by the Sisters of Charity and noted by E.C.Wines in 1880, perpetuated a familiar pattern: girls were 'trained as house maids', boys 'apprenticed' (p549). In 1907 Steelman documented the **Charities for Children in the City of Mexico**, describing Charity Schools, Foundling Homes, Industrial Schools, and Reformatories, which mirrored their European counterparts. Institutions such as the **Hospitales de la Caridad** (Charity Hospitals) of Ecuador survived until the 1940s (UNICEF 1987e.). Influence was not only in one direction. Mary Carpenter visited the Sassoon reformatory in India in 1845, five years **before** she published her book on

reformatories that was to prompt British endeavours (Sargent 1987:122).

In Africa and the Middle East, missionaries were keen to succour the supposed waifs and strays. In Palestine it was reported that from 1817, Mission Schools, 'though not called by the name, are modelled on the plan of the British Ragged Schools' (RSU 1873:227). In Persia, a similar school in which a 'large proportion' were orphans, benevolently accommodated local idiosyncrasy: 'The hymns so popular in Ragged Schools are translated into their mother tongue' (RSU 1874:32). Miss Whatley of the 'Cairo Ragged School' for girls depicts the **real** street Arab: 'No expensive ornaments to be seen here, and very many ragged veils and scanty dresses.'. Miss Whatley was succeeding where the Crusaders of Louis IX had failed. She reported of her Moslem charges:

...they will answer questions as to the leading facts in the old and New Testament...and no little one but can answer "Seidna Issa," our Lord Jesus, when asked, Who it is saves us from our sins? (RSU 1870:109).

After World War I, non-church foundations such as The Children's Aid Society of Bombay (est.1927) began to accommodate vagrant children (MacPherson 1987:160). Community-based NGOs have emerged during the past thirty years. The Children's Inn of Guatemala City opened in 1959 to help 'the increasing number of children who, in total abandonment and misery, sleep in the streets of this city.' (UNICEF 1984:11).

Most present-day NGOs, although independent, 'work more or less closely with governmental services, and identify this

cooperation as a factor in their success' (Inter-NGO 1984:1). Many receive support through international AID. Their size varies, and strategies are flexible according to local needs. At the **Centro Educacional Dom Bosco** in Brazil, a school in a slum area includes lessons concerning the running of a cooperative. When older, 'the young vendors learn through experience how to identify and deal with the various issues of buying, producing, selling, investing, managing, distributing earnings, etc. They learn democratic procedures for resolving differences of opinion, and have ample opportunities to accept group responsibilities and assume leadership' (UNICEF 1988a.:19). At a project in Quito 'the school tries to teach the boys the value of work by issuing them shoeshine boxes when they turn six years old...by requiring the boys to shine shoes until they reach their 13th birthday, the programme is quite consciously thrusting them onto the streets for their share of hard knocks' (Newsweek 1989:14). Thousands of similar small-scale initiatives exist throughout the world.

By contrast is the **Foundation for Youth Counselling** in Bogotá. **Bosconia-La Florida** for boys and **La 78** for girls have been assisting some 900 children since 1973. The central philosophy is to operate the project at progressive levels. The blue van on its regular 'Operación Amistad' (Operation friendship) is well known to local gamins, providing coffee, soup and a non-judgemental chat. A courtyard dubbed 'El Patio' provides informal sanctuary, food, washing and medical facilities. At 'Liberia' and 'Camarín' new gamins can stay for

a month. Some children will progress from this to 'Chibchalá' manual-arts workshop, 'Arcadia' a school, and 'La Industria' where the boys can get a technical diploma. 'La Florida', in a rural setting with 500 boys, is the culminating phase: a 'modern complex - its plant, at least, comparable to that of a small liberal arts college in the U.S.' (Shifter 1985:45). As a self-governing Boys' Town, it has its own currency. The boys are grouped in 'quasi-galladas' which replicates street life: 'they work together, criticize each other, demote and promote, evaluate, and share' (Dorfman 1984:6). Padre Javier, the founder, is not unaware of children who cannot jump the hurdles required to benefit from his project. For those who remain on the streets, a co-operative exists where scrap tin and cardboard is marketed to avoid exploitive middlemen.

In Bangladesh, the **Under-Privileged Children's Educational Programs** (UCEP), founded in 1972, reaches some 15,000 'working street children' although only 100 of these are in residential accommodation (Boyden s.a.:155). The schools operate a daily three or four-shift system which accommodates the children's employment patterns. Although this provides only two hours of daily lessons, by state standards the children complete **two** grades each year. High motivation, classes not exceeding 25, and 290 days of schooling per year explain this. Daily attendance is over 90% (proven truants are fined); the drop-out rate is less than 8%. Of note is the fact that the children must have permission to attend from parents and employers. Genuine orphans are given hostel accommodation,



but they must work to pay for lodgings. The strategy circumvents the possibility of the schools causing abandonment or creating dependency, and permits the project to give appropriate support and education to the parents. A technical school provides training in eight trades including motor vehicle repair, and business skills are taught. Agricultural schools provide training relevant to those with access to land. The boys must build up their savings within a bank and a loans scheme assists those who need the capital for starting a business (Inter-NGO 1974:73).

UCEP is in effect a model third world educational system; there is no emphasis on the "special" requirements of street children, except the recognition that work patterns must be accommodated. The director's evaluation is simple: 'If governments would run schooling systems similar to ours tailored to the needs of child labourers, I am sure most child workers would also be willing school students.' (Inter-NGO 1984:76). Whilst this is true, it should be added that Bangladesh's Ministry of Education does not attract the foreign funding or expert personnel available to UCEP.

Representative of a comprehensive, integrated response in Africa is the **Undugu Society of Kenya**, founded in 1975 for Nairobi's 'parking boys'. The importance of social intervention congruent with values and cultural circumstances is central for Fabio Dallape, its director:

We are like a musical instrument: the music is produced by touching the cords in the right way. The cords are there everywhere, but the way of touching them to produce a melody is specific to each culture (Dallape 1987:131).

The Undugu 'special schools' run with official approval of the Ministry of Education, but operate over 3 + 4 years instead of the usual 7 + 8 (p79). Subjects are 'relevant to the daily lives of the pupils', including a business administration course. Each school has a tea bar; teachers and learners provide the initial investment as shares; 'lessons' concern capital, expenditure, gross income, profit. At the end of the year each shareholder receives back their investment plus profit (a good tactic to ensuring a full year's attendance!). Fabio Dallape, candidly recognises the limitations of such establishments:

This type of school, though necessary, does not cater for the most needy youngsters: the ones who have to struggle to get something to put in their stomach, the ones who have been too long on the street to get used to a structured school. These youth need a different learning environment (p83).

As a solution, Dallape proposes 'A school without timetable...classrooms...lessons...books..."teachers"'. The ideals have been put into practice. To reach one particular gang of semi-criminal children, a camping holiday was offered. The relationship formed was such that the boys would occasionally attend the project for boxing or karate lessons over the next three months. Another camping trip was organised after which they agreed to remain at the site receiving 'ad hoc' education in makeshift buildings and agricultural training, for a year; 'they built a new image of themselves. They were no longer street boys, but Undugu's "graduates"' (p66).

To focus only on street children is to miss the point of Undugu: Fabio Dallape's background is in development work. Educating and upgrading the adults who espouse street children is a complementary goal. Within an impressive strategy of participatory development is an approach which gets directly to a major cause of street existence: exclusion from schooling. Slum dwellers are themselves encouraged to identify and provide uniforms and shoes for those whose parents cannot afford the requirements of local schools. Undugu's ethos of harmonious relationships extends to affirming parent-child bonds. Mothers and relatives learn the same skills as their children, so that work can be continued at home (Cov.House 1983:66). It is rare to find strategies which demonstrably attempt to unify families.

In South America, many Catholic organisations are breaking the institutional tradition, choosing instead to work on the streets. In Sao Paulo, 'street educators' form support networks and co-operatives, 'to empower children by helping them discover their own worth, and to value each other' (New Int.1989:15). Potential criminals are a focus: 'not only are these children generally more adventurous and intelligent than those who accept slave-like labour - they are also in greatest danger'. Liberation theology is at its core. On one occasion the children made placards and demonstrated in the city centre about the killing of street children by 'justice committees'. 'Street educators' are often former street children. Initial contact to create trust is through games and recreational

activities. The children begin to request favours from the educators, and more organised educative and support relationships then develop. In Brazil the state backs a national movement of street educators (Boyden s.a. 157).

Provision which reaches children before recourse to street life makes an equally valid contribution to the paradigm. In India, a series of crèches instituted by Meera Mahadevan and supported by OXFAM occupy some 5000 children whose mothers work on building sites (OXFAM 1985). Of especial relevance is the integration of children into local schools:

"We faced some opposition from parents who were reluctant to send their children to school...once the barriers were broken and a few children started school, the fear subsided, and now it is part of our programme to prepare children to join the local schools twice a year"

The alternative would probably be street existence from a young age.

A dual approach has been established by **Integración Juvenil** in the Dominican Republic. One house, **Los Flamboyanes**, is not dissimilar to other street child NGOs, but another, **Los Almendros**, 'is for children who have not dropped out of school and do not beg on the streets, having some economic means of subsistence. These boys have organised into cooperatives to buy material for their activities (shoeshine paste or newspapers), and in the afternoon they come for training in subjects not taught at school.' (Dorfman 1984:4).

Projects often eschew professional expertise. One is reported in Kathmandu which will not use social workers and

'does not hire those with formal academic degrees, on principle' (Inter-NGO 1985:8). Aga Khan concludes, 'Street children are primarily a matter for communities, not experts.'(in Agnelli 1986:16). However, those who work with NGOs very quickly become "experts". Childhope prefaced a report from 30 street educators with specific emphasis: 'we are united in the effort with all of you experts in this field' (Childhope 1987c.:2). Psychologists, social workers and educationalists can certainly view problems in a limited manner, but there is little reason to suppose that those involved with street children can escape this trap. Symptomatic of this are structures which proclaim their concern for marginalised individuals, yet are in reality offering support on a highly selective basis; educability being a major criterion. Ensuring contact with the most compliant sector of a defined target group is a standard route to becoming an expert. Experts are then likely exclude those children who do not fit the declared field of expertise to affirm their own position.

#### STATE SYSTEMS of EDUCATION (5.5.)

Contrary to the 19th century image of present-day street children, most appear to have attempted to attend school at some time. The generality is of exiguous inappropriate provision that excludes those who cannot conform, rather than of 'universal' systems which street children eschew. If those labelled 'drop-outs' returned, the schools could not function.

The ASPoSC report concluded of Brazil:

The traditional organisation, content, and methods of schooling present major obstacles to the participation and learning of children from poor families in general, and of working and street children in particular...the impediments are more political and administrative than technical (1988a.:11).

Rio de Janeiro has been the richest city of a relatively wealthy third world country, yet it probably has the most severe so-called street child problem in the world. The official school day is now three hours in the favelas; political failure underlies the situation:

...unfinished, prefabricated concrete shells of schools...stand as sad, forlorn epitaphs to a grandiose education scheme that went kaput when the politician responsible was given the heave ho (Swinfield 1989:5).

Educational demise is almost universal throughout the third world. In Peru teachers' pay now meets no more than 10% of their family needs. Worldwide, UNICEF estimates that 120 million primary age children are not at school (1989b.21).

Despite such problems, there is an emerging realisation that strategies concerning those on the streets should incorporate state education. Although isolated, this is appearing in the form of support for individual projects, co-operation with street-based projects to deter 'drop-out', and non-excluding structures which are more likely to accommodate potential street children or working children within state schools.

### Support for NGOs

The support of an NGO project initially entails its recognition within the education legislature of the country concerned. The Undugu Society's first 'Schools for Life' in Nairobi's shanty towns were illegal, but then as Fabio Dallape points out so were the shanty towns, so they remained. They now have Ministry of Education recognition and come under the auspices of the department in charge of school curriculum (Cov.Ho.1983:64). The problem of legitimization was, in this case, the absence of any applicable legal framework within the Education Acts. Although changes usually required parliamentary approval, 'the Ministry of Education, recognising the schools' role in educating a group of adolescents who were not reached by the official system, found a way to place them under the legal umbrella' (Dallape 1987:133).

Although most countries have legislation inhibiting the founding of schools outside state control, interpretation varies widely. In Israel, despite the closure of most Palestinian schools, even individuals holding informal classes in private homes face severe punishment (BBC 1989b.). In a comparable situation during the 1987 school closures in South Africa, the **Street-wise** project was set up in open consultation with the Department of Education and Training. In South America, some educational programmes which provide skill training must "ease relations" with local bureaucrats. They can otherwise face state action on the grounds that they are

contravening the Child Labour laws (Boyden 1988).

On a more formal basis, the MANOF project in Israel is partly financed by the Youth Division of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and was instigated under its auspices. Despite this, attendance is voluntary, and the project runs autonomously. Catering for 'unpromising' semi-criminal street youth, it places boys in a kibbutz after one year's initial training. Whilst here or later in the army, the boys can continue 'elementary studies' through MANOF (Inter-NGO 1984:87).

In other instances, financial or material support appears discretionary. UCEP in Bangladesh, is sometimes able to make use of state school buildings outside the normal timetable (Inter-NGO 1984:74). The Grenadian Education Ministry oversees two government projects which provide a second chance for youths who have not been able to attend school regularly.

#### Deterring 'drop-out'

The NGO, **Education Research and Development Assistance (ERDA)** in Manila, aims to 'reintegrate drop-outs into the public schools...with the specific objective of preventing the rejection and abandonment of children'. The strategy is methodical. Lists of school drop-outs are provided by government officials, and the project's social workers visit families to assess the problem. The project reaches around 4000 children (Inter-NGO 1984:77).

In Ecuador, the street based project **Accion Guambas** assists those on the streets who are likely to 'drop out'



through help with homework, remedial education, the purchase of school supplies, and liaison with school teachers (UNICEF 1987e.:23). A similar initiative in Mexico (UNICEF 1987d.) attempts to identify "at risk" children through the use of a simple pro forma for school teachers (Fig. 17). Though commendable, such projects raise the question as to why this type of approach, funded by UNICEF and the state, is not developed within and through the schools themselves?

#### Accommodation within the state system

Some Education Ministries are now more adequately responding to the welfare requirement within schools. The provision of meals is becoming more general. Since 1982 Thailand has operated a school lunch programme which now includes 5,000 schools. Much of the food is grown by pupils as part of agricultural training. The welfare aspect can also be a more blatant encouragement for attendance. When Chilean schools were permitted to opt out of the state system and be paid by capitation, one attempted an incentive scheme which, if nothing else, was street child specific.

Nine-year-old José Fuentes was justifiably surprised when the owner of his school gave each pupil a single shoe on the first day of term last year: "He told us that if we turned up every day for the whole term he'd give us the other one on the last day." He never got the other shoe. As his family needed the money he earned selling sweets on Santiago's late-night buses, his attendance was poor - he remains to this day shod in one shoe (Martin 1989:23).

More hopefully, it is reported that in Brazil 'A few public school systems have provided special schools specifically for working children, allowing the young workers to arrive at

ANNEX A

DIF-State of Veracruz

Coatzacoalcos, Veracruz  
January 25, 1984

Dear Teacher:

Being aware of the existence of "Children of the Street" in Coatzacoalcos, the DIF requests that you cooperate through the SEP to help prevent children from leaving home and subsequently migrating to other cities or remaining in Coatzacoalcos and soon becoming juvenile offenders.

You can help by providing information to identify children who are in danger of leaving school or the family. Our cooperation, in return, consists of preventive work at the orientation level.

NAME OF THE SCHOOL \_\_\_\_\_ TEL: \_\_\_\_\_

NAME OF THE TEACHER: \_\_\_\_\_

NAME OF THE CHILD IN DANGER OF LEAVING SCHOOL OR THE FAMILY: \_\_\_\_\_

AGE: \_\_\_\_\_ GRADE: \_\_\_\_\_ SEX: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

NEIGHBORHOOD: \_\_\_\_\_

QUESTIONNAIRE

- |  |                          |                          |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1).- IS THE CHILD HAVING ACADEMIC PROBLEMS?<br>(Has failed subjects. Does not do homework. Shows little interest in school, etc.). | NO                       | YES                      |
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2).- DOES THE CHILD HAVE SERIOUS FAMILY PROBLEMS?<br>(No father, stepfather, alcoholic parents, mistreatment, etc.).               |                          |                          |
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3).- DOES THE CHILD WORK TO HELP SUPPORT THE FAMILY?   |                          |                          |
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| TYPE OF WORK: _____  |                          |                          |
| 4).- DOES THE CHILD HAVE FRIENDS WHO ARE CONSIDERED "BAD COMPANY"?<br>(Vagrants, Gang Members, Drug Addicts, etc.)                 |                          |                          |
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5).- IN THE OPINION OF THE TEACHER, IS THE CHILD IN DANGER OF LEAVING SCHOOL?  |                          |                          |
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6).- IN THE OPINION OF THE TEACHER, IS THE CHILD IN DANGER OF LEAVING HOME?  |                          |                          |
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

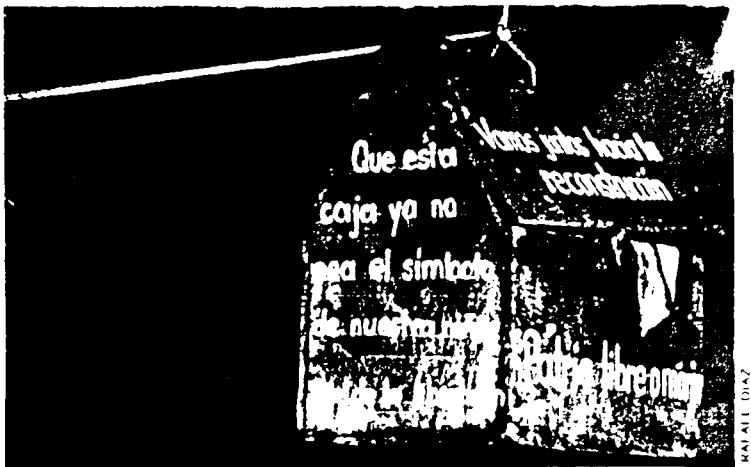
different hours as their work permits, individualising and otherwise adapting instruction, and sometimes incorporating links to work opportunities.'. (UNICEF 1988a.:11). In Honduras, Programa del "Carnillita" arranges for newspaper vendors to attend school half-time; 'Arrangements are even made to coincide with the publication timetables of the local morning or afternoon newspapers' (UNICEF 1984:12).

Probably the most notable recent restructuring of an educational system in a manner concomitant with the prevention of street existence has been demonstrated in Nicaragua. In the Year of Liberation it was reported that a shoe-shine box had become a symbol of intent, bearing the inscription: 'This shoe-shine box shall never again be the symbol of childhood' (EPICA 1980:76) (Fig. 18.). At this time the UN estimated that there were 40,000 orphaned children, 200,000 homeless families, and that a third of the labour force was out of work (in EPICA 1980). In August 1979, the number of street children was estimated at 70,000, yet by February 1980 'a parallel estimate showed that the number had decreased to about 25,000' (Agnelli 1986:68). This was attributed to 'community solidarity', but government measures emerged to consolidate the situation.

The interrelationship of welfare and education was recognised in the new Child Development Centres (CDIs), set up jointly by the Ministries of Social Welfare and Education (Black & Bevan 1980:34). Priorities given within educational expansion most closely demonstrate how a total system can

Fig. 18.

The NICARAGUAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

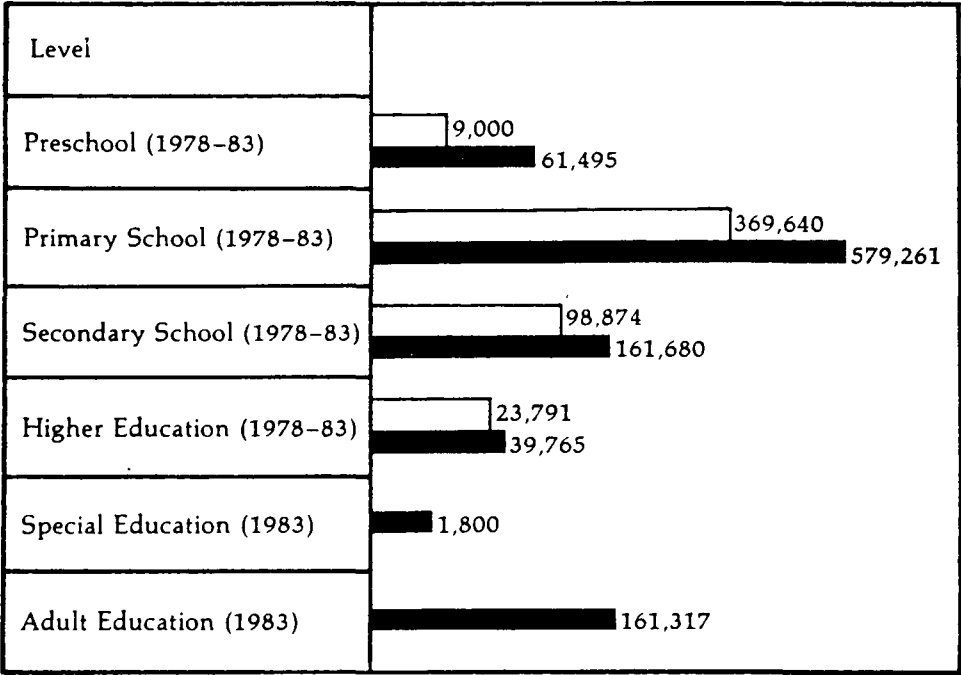


This shoe shine box shall never again be the symbol of childhood. Year of Liberation.

(EPICA 1980:76)

a.

EXPANSION OF NICARAGUAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM,  
1978-83



(Walker 1985:331)

b.

address the latent precipitants of street existence. The usual third world pattern of expansion in the prestigious areas of higher education was completely reversed (see Fig.18); adult, 'special', primary and preschool education were given precedence. By comparison, in Latin America between 1960 and 1980 primary enrolments increased by only 134%, as against secondary of 493% and higher education of 831% (Coombes 1985:74). Nicaragua's objectives reflect the more broadly based strategies of the major NGOs.

Nicaragua has not solved its street child problem. But, within a state which attempts equitable educational and welfare provision, the NGO response to street children (the **Alberguitos** - Street Inns) is able to concentrate more on the education of mothers. Abandoned children are only accommodated on temporary basis until the natural family becomes stable or a new family can be found (UNICEF 1984:13).

It is not unreasonable to suggest that the education of children on the streets falls most logically within the ambit of national educational ministries. In many instances a response need not entail great expenditure, simply deregulation and co-operation. Present disorder within state systems entails, however, that in most countries schools do not have the motivation or capacity to respond to those who are seen to select themselves out mainstream provision. Nicaragua seems to be demonstrating that appropriate alternatives are feasible given political will. Universal schooling was seen by the newly independent states as the

principal means of achieving national unity. The reality is that it has become a principal agent of social division.

#### The PRESENT PICTURE (5.6.)

The welfare/education relationship has been expressed in respect of contemporary street children by Bill MacCurtain, who utilises the simple terms 'dependency needs' (welfare) and 'growth needs' (education) (1988:8). UNICEF provides a more sophisticated elucidation suggesting that dependency can be addressed in a manner which stimulates growth. Rather than merely providing food, shelter, income, etc., projects should

promote integrated physical, mental, social and spiritual development. By focussing on the human potential, the child's more immediate needs are met along the way within a constant that gives social assistance long term relevance, turning it into social investment. The developmental formulation [education] of the challenge humanizes the whole assistance [welfare] endeavour (1987a.:17),

On the local level, Meera Madevan recognises that in-service staff training also needs to reflect the duality: 'We found that a teacher will only teach, and a nurse will only bandage...We needed a worker who would be a social worker, teacher, and a mother to the child' (OXFAM 1985).

The only entity which still frequently attempts to address growth irrespective of dependency is state education. In the light of 2000 years experience UNICEF still finds need to report state primary schools where 'children are regularly fainting from hunger'; to record that a daily bowl of soup can increase attendance from 50% to 100% (p84); to conclude that

'the child who is hungry and ill-fed lacks the energy and enthusiasm to apply himself to his schoolwork' (1989a.:89-90).

Although not new, the incidence of street children and response has increased exponentially over the past twenty years. European institutional models have remained fundamental, particularly to government strategies. The sophistication of **Bosconia-La Florida** demonstrates the culminatory development of charitable institutionalisation. Present debate is critical of this ideal, the antithesis being the 'street educator'. The development of the children's home environment, including the education of parents, is now seen to provide more fundamental solutions. Ongoing processes are favoured rather than static intervention. Whether in institutions or on the streets there is a general pattern of:

Outreach and befriending	remediation and consolidation	rehabilitation and reintegration	ongoing support and prevention
--------------------------------	-------------------------------------	--	--------------------------------------

The principal distinction of the NGOs is non-coercive attendance, which a few state endeavours have attempted to replicate. One lesson is pertinent: children who can vote with their feet must attribute benefit to the projects they attend. However, in practice, rather than unconditional acceptance, 'self-referral' is often an entry turnstile for which the ticket is educability and compliance. There remains the problem of the majority who stay outside. Contemporary opinion pays little heed to the fact that whilst NGOs accommodate the

co-operative few, state institutions must absorb the mass who do not or cannot choose to join what are often effectively élite serving organisations.



## CHAPTER SIX

### THIRD WORLD: IDEAS

Third world responses may display European influence, but the idea of unconditional support has broader roots. The sentiment fundamental to Christian church charity has been Matthew Ch.25: 'I was hungry and you gave me food; I was thirsty and you gave me drink; I was a stranger and you made me welcome; naked and you clothed me'. Several millennia earlier a similar idea also emanated from the now third world:

Doing that which is Right and hating that which is Wrong,  
I was bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes  
to the naked, a refuge to him that was in want,

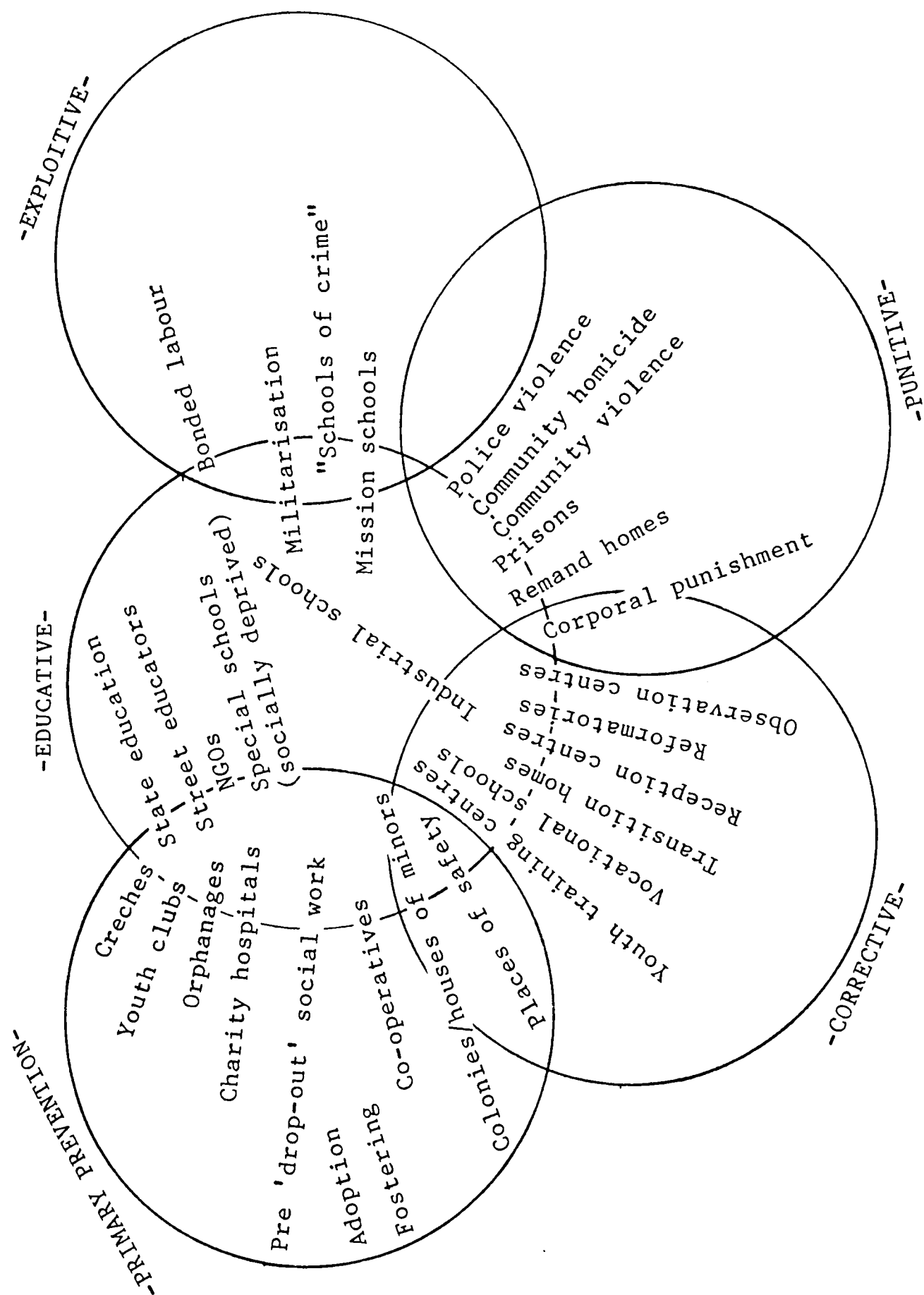
The verse comes from a funeral papyrus found in an Egyptian mummy (Rénouf in Montague 1904:255). Islam similarly extols altruism, 'They will ask thee what they shall bestow in Alms say: Let the good which ye bestow be for parents, and kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the wayfarer' (Sura ii v.211).

In the light of colonial and international influence, it is not surprising that third world actions can be seen to suggest the same basic objectives as in Europe (Fig. 19.). Questions therefore focus more on outcome than aims: what is current opinion concerning the practical consequences of present approaches?

Options concerning forms of provision are now fewer. Mass emigration is not possible, although children from orphanages in Brazil are at present being adopted in England. Individual

Fig. 19.

The PRIMARY OBJECTIVES of THIRD WORLD ACTIONS



placement within the poorer countries is relatively insignificant, and has few educational implications. Current literature concentrates less on the overall development of responses, and more on immediate consequences. This can create an over-critical impression, highlighting specific failings rather than general success. Criticism is therefore within the consideration that responses would not exist if positive attributes were altogether absent.

#### INSTITUTIONALISATION (6.1.)

Present provision exists in limbo between contemporary ideals and 19th century infrastructure. Legislatures embody the European notions that the young have minimal criminal responsibility and should not be punished and that confinement with adults is known to entail criminal tutelage and abuse. Despite this, prisons are crowded with children. Preventive care is generally reactive custody which frequently mixes 'delinquents' and welfare cases. The corrective philosophy is seen to be dated; reformatories operate but without corrective instruction. An Indian journalist points to the irony that

soon after Independence, welfare experts trained in the 1950s in the USA, put delinquency into our child welfare priorities!...our planners guided by these "experts" made delinquency more important than health and nutrition. It took a decade for us to revolt against this mindless interpretation of social justice.' (Baig 1989:6).

Whatever the change in attitude, many Indian street children remain in custodial, reformatory-style care.

Current literature firmly questions institutions. Critiques determine linked factors within four spheres:

- (i) Cost-effectiveness - discrimination - palliative function;
- (ii) Incorrect response - punitive and exploitive ethos;
- (iii) Alienation - self-perpetuation - immoral training;
- (iv) Presenting deviance and poverty as a route to betterment.

(i) **Cost-effectiveness.** Institutional care is rarely cheap. Bill Myers points to the fact that benign state provision in Brazil had a **per capita** cost which considerably exceeded the national minimum wage (s.a.:6).

**Discrimination.** Expense presents the need for specific entrance criteria to regulate intake. Dallape questions,

Do we really reach the most needy ones through this approach? Probably the ones we reach are still the "best ones" of the group...the children who are nearer the behaviour accepted by the [Undugu] society...Do they accept us because they are too weak to challenge us?'(1987:51-2).

Benign institutions are seen to require 'model kinds of behaviour and self-disclosure in return for service' (Zingaro 1988:11). Institutions for 'deviants' also become selective.

**Palliative function.** If provision is discriminatory and therefore only partial, effect and motivation are questionable. Dallape asks whether projects are

helping the society to diagnose its disease and recover, or are we helping to keep the society blind and become more sick...could our activities become a kind of "charitable blanket" covering the disease of the society producing these children? (1987:52).

If vagrancy sanctions state custody, governments fail lamentably by their own criteria. The surest way to effect the

demise of reformative or punitive state provision would be to insist that all those who qualified were admitted. A few children behind bars is to appease the populace, not enact the law.

(ii) **Incorrect response.** Labelling children homeless or abandoned, 'ignores the fact that most working children have homes, and that they are in the street at least in part to help their families survive'. Similarly a delinquent classification 'simply worsens the condition of the children without resolving underlying problems[:]....the majority of street children have not been shown to habitually engage in antisocial behaviour'. Children are considered 'helpless victims needing removal from their life situation, when in fact they are more likely to be responsible young persons who need assistance in coping more successfully with it' (UNICEF 1988a.:6).

**Punitive and exploitive ethos.** Inappropriate custody is inherently punitive. To 'isolate' and 'stigmatize' children is to 'punish them for circumstances they did not create'. The internal dynamic frequently culminates in 'systematically employing repression and force' (UNICEF 1987e.:13).

(iii) **Alienation.** Replication of a family milieu is difficult: staff cannot provide an 'exclusive' relationship with a child (Dallape 1987:48). 'Lack of identity prevails along with the lack of affection and an orderliness that is typical of hospitals' (UNICEF 1987e.:14). Family co-operation, even if possible, is largely excluded. Limited influences

'impose behaviour habits on the child, which lead to a conduct characterised by: hypocrisy, delation [accusation], aggressiveness and violence, all of which result in irregular conduct patterns' (UNICEF 1987e.:14). Alienation is a prime motivator of the institutional cycle self-defeat. As inmates are 'not exposed to a variety of roles on which to model their behaviour' (Dallape 1987:48), individual personality cannot stem from a broad critical judgement of human nature. Educational isolation perpetuates torpid teaching methods; the constricted life-experience of the children precludes contributions to the classroom dynamic.

More specifically Judith Ennew points to the alienation within 'schemes which are run exclusively by men for boys. This could cause problems of rehabilitation to normal social relationships, particularly if the boys have experienced maternal rejection before living on the street' (UNICEF 1985a.:36). Consequently the institution increases 'psychological and social marginalisation, undermining their ability to cope with the world upon discharge.' (Myers s.a.:6). Initial rehabilitation frequently entails adjusting the child to the middle-class values of the institution. Actual rehabilitation consequently becomes a parachute from an higher existence to reality - a process which may not initially have been necessary. An inmate of a Brazilian home reports (New Int. 1989:14):

"In the home we were safe. We learned skills. But we didn't learn how to survive in the world. I am exactly where I was on the day I left street life."

Fr. Fonseca of **Snehasadan** in Bombay points to another obvious problem: when a comfortable life-style becomes available for children who have been used to fending for themselves, they often fail to value what is provided.

**Self-perpetuation.** The continuance of institutional care is fuelled by the alienation process. In **Bosconia - La Florida** children must progress through various levels of attainment. But the eventual graduates are difficult to place in employment: 'Employers tend to be wary of young men who discuss why something must be done, who are critical and self-assertive, who protest when they are unfairly treated, who speak with unconventional minds' (Dorfman 1984:6). Consequently Padre Javier dreams of building, by the sea, a 'self-sufficiency city...where he can extend to his boys - and their spouses - a civilization outside the misfortunes of history...A better Republica will then continue, unmolested, in a faraway corner...'. Progressive institutionalisation is only complete with the ultimate creation of utopia.

The preservation of employment also perpetuates the system. Sheela Barsk reports that children in the charge of the Children's Aid Society in India are often not returned to parents after the issue of a court order requiring this. There is a 'wish to prevent reduction in the number of inmates in the custody of an institution...high numbers ensured sanction of sufficient staff and basic infrastructure' (1984:4-5).

**Immoral training.** Alienation from social morality facilitates criminal tutelage. Some systems blatantly encourage theft. In

Colombian prisons, the fact that children can buy their freedom by paying for the goods they have stolen, encourages the stealing of money from a fellow-inmates (Tomasevski 1986:29). The criminal norm is not only set by inmates. It is reported of a Turkish prison teacher that:

"Each day he taught how we should leave our sinfulness outside the prison. One day they caught him trying to smuggle eggs injected with hashish into the prison." (DCI 1988:34).

(iv) **Presenting deviance and poverty as a route to betterment.** In Tanzania children are known to commit crimes deliberately to get into prison because the food is good (Tomasevski 1986:13). UNICEF reports from Nigeria:

it is said that the "best thing" that can happen to many slum boys or girls may be their being arrested for a minor offence (such as having left home and gone to another city) and being sent to a reformatory school for two or three years where they can learn reading and writing and some kind of skill free of charge. This situation seems to have removed the social stigma from juvenile delinquency and has rendered it almost a desirable state. In reading files of Nigerian juvenile delinquents of Ibadan, one is struck by the eagerness of parents and relatives to accentuate a child's "bad" behaviour that could hopefully send him to a reform school (UNICEF 1971:71).

The third world reformatory system completely misses the point of Mary Carpenter's original plan, which proposed that reformatories should operate **alongside** 'Industrial feeding' and 'Free day schools' (1851:38). In isolation they will always become an attractive option. Benign provision poses the same problem. Jo Boyden concludes (s.a.:155), 'There is no doubt that one of the main risks in providing residential care for so-called street children is that this actually creates



rather than than solves the problem of homelessness.' She points out that of the 15,000 children educated by UCEP in Bangladesh, only 100 genuinely need permanent accommodation.

The advantages of institutions rarely concern welfare, except in the case of young children. For the state and the populace they provide a tangible entity which can be monitored, controlled, evaluated, or hidden. Relatives are content because family responsibilities are obviated, but the children are still available for non-intrusive contact.

As an environment facilitating formal education, institutions can appear exemplary. If for no other reason, schooling assumes importance as a convenient means of occupying fractious youth in confinement. Dorfman talks of the children at **Bosconia-La Florida**

They are interested in everything, demanding one's opinions of the Middle East and the Sandinistas, on romantic poetry and the origins of jazz. They seldom agree with the established opinions held in society and don't seem scared to voice their objections (1984:6).

A closed establishment can also, internally, be a very equitable form of provision. The irony points to the problem of evaluations which might emphasise educational achievement to the exclusion of other factors.

Of the broader picture Anthony Swift concludes:

rescue programmes are limited, often confused, acts of power by individuals who wish to exercise benevolence in a social structure that is not benevolent. Rescuing children involves removing them to a safer place, invariably higher up the ladder of economic domination...Not only do they fail to address the causes of deprivation but at some point...their power to intervene and their knowledge about how to do so effectively runs out (NI 1989:14).

Institutionalization stems from church practice. The intent of these early establishments was to isolate unsupported children from what was seen as the immoral influence of the community: 'removing them to a safer place' was precisely what was intended. The aim was often then to increase the ranks of the clergy, a group intentionally set aloof from mainstream society. There should be less surprise that institutions, a derivative of religious structures, continue to meet what was originally their main objective: separatism.

#### EDUCATIONAL NETWORKS (6.2.)

Although remedial of the failings rather than the total absence of state education, current NGO objectives are not dissimilar to those of European philanthropic organisations. The ASPoSC evaluation in Brazil views the effects of programmes on children in four categories: social skills, career skills, individual growth, and moral values (see Fig.30). This concern with overall development rather than academic attainment alone, clearly distinguishes the aims of the project approach from those demonstrated by formal schooling.

The final UNICEF report of the ASPoSC programme concluded that 'successful programmes do not have as their main purpose to correct delinquency or other perceived faults in children' (UNICEF 1987a.:17). Yet the evaluation methodology of the ASPoSC project uses indicators which unquestioningly measure a degree of corrective training. 'Moral values' such as 'respect

for other people's property, identification with positive models, non-violence, condemning of drugs, respect for sexuality', do not suggest a non-imposition of external standards (Firme et al s.a.:App.II). On an individual project level Father Halligan, of Ecuador, admits that his goal 'is to drive home 10 moral values...often missing among Latin America's poor', which include a work ethic, thrift, health and cleanliness (Newsweek 1989:14). In Bogota, sophrology, a mental relaxation technique, has been used to reduce anti-social tendencies (Agnelli 1986:99). It seems unlikely that corrective education, however mild, is altogether absent from most programmes. Similarly, punishment is generally eschewed, although Father Halligan is again more candid: 'These people have to be disciplined...There are some unthinking do-gooders who think we are entirely too strict. But these are adult children, and what they need is a swift kick' (Newsweek 1989:14). In general, however, recourse to punishment is not on the level displayed within most state schools.

Also in contrast to the objectives of state systems, the educative virtues of non-exploitive labour are at present extolled, although child labour laws often inhibit projects with a work component. UNICEF applauds 'a few imaginative programmes', which

Accepting the reality that some children must work...seek to transform the nature of work itself from exploitive drudgery into an educational vehicle that promotes child development. Tasks are designed and distributed in such a manner as to meet the development needs of the children; hours are set to ensure that children can attend school; sometimes remuneration includes ample nutrition and access to health care; and equipment may be adapted to make sure it does not pose a health hazard (1986b.:19).

The ILO is wary, however, about the true educative value of most child labour: 'The vast majority receive little or no preparation for the work they are given and consequently child labour tends to be concentrated in unskilled, simple jobs...' (Bequele & Boyden 1988:156). Improving the efficiency of children in the work force can also diminish adult employment opportunities, and unemployed adults espouse street children. The solution is a highly remunerative, thoroughly educative, non-exploitive, but totally unproductive form of child labour. The ideal does not exist.

Within a school setting, as an alternative to 'the classical pedagogics on which most schooling is based', relevant, non-didactic approaches pervade contemporary NGO ideals (UNICEF 1985b.:14). Where is the state school that could rival the proposed curriculum at the YMCA in Kingston, Jamaica? Besides 'Maths, English, Hygiene and recreational activities' training is to include: 'Principles of the combustion engine. How to repair automobiles and motor cycles. Preventive methods for prolonging the life of a car. Cost and pricing of repair jobs. Body work and paint job training.' (YMCA s.a.:5). A conference in Grand - Bassam proposed, 'An education tailored to his needs [which] calls for an objective knowledge of his environment and social and economic conditions, as well as an overall grasp of his primary as well as emotional needs' (Inter-NGO 1985:13). Put lucidly by the Jamaican YMCA: 'All the normal school behaviour is dispensed with and we concentrate on the individual's ability to read

and write and not on how he looks or smells.' (s.a.:4). The conference also suggested a 'new pedagogy based on dialogue' (1985:15). But the simple process of talking and listening has since become deified in verbose Latin American literature:

In the dialogue the relationship between the educator and the child is established within the essential requirement of the human temporality, i.e., it embodies the present which is a presence that encloses the past and the future. The dialogues which come to light in the interpersonal experience can be described as continuous dialectic movements of reception, questioning, discovery and accomplishment (da Silva 1988:5).

Extending the traditional view of curriculum, the Colombian lawyer Sonia Martinex de Duran recommended in 1983: 'Begin teaching [street] children, at an early age, the rights of children, and the rights and obligations of parents and government.' (Cov.House 1983:111). Subsequent Latin American reports have again adorned themselves with Liberation verbiage which complicates relevant but simple intent:

The educator must identify with the creature ...and, together with the child, seek response to his uneasiness about "existing-in-the-world" by making up a story with him...His activity arises from...the need to provide care for that spoliated contingent made up of street children, who are the offspring of those whom the production means have been expropriated from (UNICEF 1987c.:13;16)

The ASPoSC report proposes in more lucid Freirian terms that intellectual development should entail a

practical understanding of the social context, and the stimulation of independent critical capacity sufficient to objectively question and evaluate reality (UNICEF 1988a.:7).

Despite appealing theoretical stances, the euphoria surrounding remedial projects often disguises the limits of

their true efficacy. There has been, according to Bill Myers, 'a natural tendency to evaluate the worth of a programme according to its philosophical posture' (in Firme et al s.a.:1). The ASPoSC conclusions indicate basic problems. Isolation precludes the 'opportunity to hear new ideas or learn from the failures and successes of others'. Administration is weak 'with leadership highly centralised'. 'Their activities are assistential and paternalistic, emphasising short term services to meet urgent immediate needs. They have relatively little power to affect the long term situation of the children they seek to help.' (UNICEF 1988a.:22). The main issue is the small number of children who are usually reached. Even Paulo Freire's enthusiasm is qualified:

the educator's...reference to their work with ten children here, and ten children there...does not seem to be clear that the final commitment has to do with transforming the world (1987c.:22).

...or even to transforming the town. It is rare to see admittances such as that of Fabio Dallape: 'How many children can we reach? In Nairobi alone, out of approximately 30,000 destitute children (to be very conservative), is the number we reach really significant?' (1987:52).

State initiatives have similar impact. A special school in Sao Paulo addresses the recognised problems. It is free, meals and washing facilities are provided, children may register for one day at a time. Lessons include carpentry, sewing, dance and drama. Of the 670 children who originally

registered, 55 eventually attended about three times a week. A teacher pupil ratio of 1:7 was necessary. Some children maintained that they left because of the noise and interruptions from other pupils; teachers blame the pull of street-life. Dr Nancy Cardia concludes, 'there is a bit of both: the school seems to have underestimated the emotional needs of the children as well as the role played by spontaneous groups.' (UNICEF 1987b.:18). A similar state project in Paraguay now serves only the slum children who have driven away the street children (Swart 1989b.). Perhaps if the principal objective had been integration rather than education, these problems might have been avoided.

Agencies also seem relatively impotent. Caroline Moorehead concludes of Childhope:

Its intentions are excellent; its possibilities minimal. It is the scale of the problem that is so daunting, the sheer numbers in this uncounted, vulnerable and ever-growing army of stray children (1989:29).

The UNICEF backed **Accion Guabras** project in Ecuador displayed good intent, but, at the time of producing its report, admitted to 'a high rate of rotation'. Only 32 children had completed their 'compensatory education'; 140 were receiving 'daily tutoring and help with their school homework' (1987e.:30,31).

A well informed foreign observer in South America has concluded: '"Street educators" invariably do no more than make "meaningful" contact with the children living on the streets, and play soccer and board games with them.' (Private

Corresp.)). Specific strategies are sometimes judged on novelty rather than effective value. Present street educator ideals often seem reconciled to leaving children living on the streets. At worst, this is the educational equivalent of feeding stray cats. Elaborate buildings may be unnecessary, but a definable and identifiable space is a prerequisite of an ongoing learning process. Stable relationships within a pupil group are a fundamental part of an educational milieu. This requires some form of spatial constant.

Contrary to popular sentiment, the street educator is not in effect, necessarily the antithesis of the closed institution. The missionary has replaced the monastery, but the message is often little altered. In Mexico one street educator declares unequivocally: 'My general objective with the girls is to rescue them from the street...' (Childhope 1987:11). It is also possible for both to isolate and institutionalise a class of children. Whether in an orphanage or left on the streets, the result can be the same. The important lesson from street education is that non-academic socialisation has considerable value for those with lessened parental contact, but these objectives are equally applicable in a formal schoolroom.

The liberationist aspect of street education poses more specific questions. Not least, it generally inhibits the possibility of state/NGO co-operation, as Freire is clear that his methods are not compatible with existing state systems (1972:31). Whilst Freire's original work was specifically



directed at adults, these ideals are now being uncritically related to street children. Comments from **Paulo Freire and the street educators** might be seen to parallel the militarisation, rather than the liberation of the young:

There is no hope in social justice. Therefore, only in the struggle can hope be found...It is necessary to dismantle the existing society, (UNICEF 1987c.:22).

Whilst street demonstrations and children's committees appear constructive, fuller implications remain undiscussed.

What is the reply to a 12-year-old gamin who has "critically evaluated his reality", and, very reasonably, requests a gun? It is arguable that war should be waged on behalf of poverty and exploitation. But however critical, the minds of children are shown to embrace black and white concepts, not the uncertainties of maturity or the niceties of the Geneva convention. Franz Fanon recorded the cold logic of children during the Algerian liberation struggle. A 13-year-old who had stabbed a white friend whilst playing explained:

"We weren't a bit cross with him...He was a good friend of ours...One day we decided to kill him, because the Europeans want to kill all the Arabs. We can't kill big people. But we could kill ones like him..." (1967:217).

The Khmer Rouge provides a similar omen. In the almost total absence of other solutions, however, it is understandable the ideas now imply the possibility of children's activism.

Edicts in **Paulo Freire and the street educators** also emphasise the contradictory communion between 'Liberation' and 'Theology' (1987c.:24):

In the educational process, the democratic educator substitutes induction with the disciple's analytical and conscious co-operation.

Can a 'disciple' be 'analytical'? Does analysis entail 'conscious co-operation'? How is the general development of critical consciousness reconciled with the Vatican Index? Continuing, the statement censures

The authoritarian educator [who] devotes his time to induction, he constantly manipulates the process, the orders go from the top [to] the bottom, often for convenience reasons.

How do educationalists, bound to a Catholic Church of 'authoritarian educators' who through 'induction' 'constantly manipulate the process' via 'orders from the top to the bottom, often for convenience reasons', reconcile their thoughts? To the non-Catholic observer other aspects of 'liberationist' appear contradictory. Is an improvement in 'moral values' marked by the fact that children 'no longer engage in homosexual acts'? The ASPoSC evaluation considers this to be so (Firme et al s.a.:187).

Papal paradox appears to be generally unchallenged by educators. The prohibition of birth control is a major cause of surplus children. In Mexico, the Church continues to block 'a much needed AIDS education campaign'; instead 'pro-life' groups are in alliance with those who make 'demands for a roundup of homosexuals and compulsory euthanasia for victims of the virus' (McGreal 1989a.:13). AIDs and homosexual practices are directly related to street children. A merchant seaman reports how Brazilian nuns would collect their tithe,

standing at the gangplanks of the ships as the young prostitutes left. In Bogotá, in 1986, children were detained in prison in order to beautify the city for a visit by the Pope (UFSI 1987a.:3); likewise in Santo Domingo in 1984 (DCI 1989:10).

Latin American street educators are a cog in the Catholic "cause and cure" machine; many priests act out a scene of succouring street children on a stage set with the opulence of their calling. As such both might appear a primary example of the poverty profession. Herbert Gans lucidly pointed out that

poverty creates jobs for a number of occupations and professions that serve the poor, or shield the rest of the population from them...Doing good among the poor has traditionally helped the church to find a method of expressing religious sentiments in action; in recent years, militant church activity among and for the poor has enabled the church to hold on to its more liberal and radical members who might otherwise have dropped out of organised religion altogether' (1968:107;109).

Consequently, there is an inherent reluctance within these professions to challenge root causes of social problems. The Italian street educator, Mario Borelli considers that Liberation Theologians 'are used by their structured churches as an alibi for the future.' (Cov. House 1983:82). It seems likely that unless Catholic activists critically evaluate their own reality, they are in danger of being judged a significant educational palliative, and a tool in the employ of social divisiveness.

With a few notable exceptions, there exists an unfortunate disrespect between NGOs and the mainstream system. At best, there is indifference. Staff within projects see

state schools as a cause of street existence and as caring little about the children concerned. They view themselves as experts who can succeed where the state fails. Those working in the state sector are often jealous of foreign resources and prestigious attention given to reward pupils who appear to disdain mainstream provision, and they fail to view NGOs as a source of inspiration. This is compounded by the long-standing inability of Welfare, Education, and Juvenile Justice Ministries to work together, a situation that may only be overcome by the creation of Ministries of Children's Affairs. The declared problem of integrating supposedly different types of children frequently seems an excuse for the unwillingness of adults to integrate their Empires. Is it street children or street child projects that cannot be related to mainstream structures? Non-excluding schools are unlikely to emerge until greater co-operation is achieved at all levels of involvement.

#### CONCLUSION (6.3.)

The present situation is one of individual successes and general failure. Nowhere does the scale of the overall response seem to match that of the problem.

Within some NGOs children are experiencing appropriate, effective schooling which is more compatible with social context than provision in most parts of the world. Other programmes represent educational apartheid, which separates children from mainstream peers, institutionalises an already marginalised class, and creates élite cadres within their own

social groups. The shortcomings of partial responses have culminated in a realisation of the need to address individual issues through integrated social strategies, which entails the development of home communities. But in present circumstances this approach often becomes another island of endeavour.

Government initiatives do not conspicuously display the objective of integrating marginalised children within mainstream society. The possibility of applying NGO successes on a wider scale has largely been ignored by current research methodology, and there is no indication that remedial efforts are evolving to represent a more general form of provision. On the contrary, a recent investigation reports 'an increasing trend towards privatisation of residential centres' (DCI 1989:25). This represents a reversal of the pattern of development witnessed in Europe, and seems set to reinforce the existence of an underclass.

Assessment of the success of present responses is clouded by two factors. Firstly, there is government reluctance to investigate the real effects of state responses, which often seem to perpetuate basic problems. Provision is rarely adequate in scale, and frequently represents forms of child abuse that would be illegal if perpetrated in other circumstances. Secondly, success within the NGO sector is often overinflated in publicity brochures and reports, and evaluation is usually short-term rather than recognising the long-term nature of educational processes. For example,

following the film **Salaam Bombay**, a Penguin paperback provides impressive reports of the Salaam Baalak Learning Centres, funded by donations resulting from public response (Nair & Taraporevala 1989:170). A visit to the Bombay centre revealed a daily, irregular attendance of around a dozen young children. None of these appeared to be living on the streets to any significant degree, and certainly did not equate with the children featured in the film.

Discussion inevitably concerns social rather than individual criteria. Childhood is an irreversible journey not a social institution: it cannot wait for ideal solutions. From a child's immediate viewpoint, a dubious project is usually better than nothing; to be part of a flawed schooling system is probably preferable to being outside it. Anyone forced to live on a rubbish tip would be less questioning of the general implications surrounding the alleviation of immediate discomfort. To criticise an NGO is to some extent akin to blaming dental fillings for tooth decay. It is requirement rather than inadequacy which should raise fundamental questions. Error is inherent in remediation, but at best charity should only ever be a good prelude to equitable action throughout an entire community.

PRECEDENTS, CONTEXTS and COMMONALITY

The wealthy nations appear to have minimised the extent of street existence. To what degree is the means of achievement applicable to the third world?. Future policy should be derived from a consideration of past strategies, balanced by an awareness that these solutions may not be replicable in the present context.

Three preliminary questions are necessary to provide a foundation for future policy derived from comparisons.

- (i) In the light of numerous claims of innovation at the present time, to what degree are contemporary actions and ideas preceded? It is important to utilize and develop existing knowledge rather than to expend energy unknowingly reinventing solutions.
- (ii) What are the differences in past and present contexts? Proposals can only be appropriate if they relate to present and predicted future circumstances.
- (iii) Despite contextual variance, is there commonality which can provide a conceptual framework for comparing past and present responses? If so, it seems probable that this can be hypothesised as applicable to the future.

### PRECEDENTS for the CONTEMPORARY RESPONSE (7.1.)

Both in Europe and the third world, the question of educating street children has usually been presented as current or at best episodic, when in a broader perspective it forms part of a continuum. Writing in the 4th century St. Basil advocated that poor children

should be trained to a life of virtue and religion;...that a director, at once mild and firm, humane and prudent, should watch over their habits and and form them to moral rectitude...they should frequent the shops of workmen skilful in the mechanic arts and professions for which they showed aptness (in Wines 1880:71).

Enoch Wines concluded of this in 1880, 'Have we not here, in all its essential features, the industrial school of our day?' (p71). In 1901 E.M.Leonard made a similar link in a history of English Poor Relief, suggesting that 'The bridewells or work-houses...often [had] a special children's department which seems to correspond with our own Industrial schools.' (p217). Precedents to the contemporary third world response seem similarly obvious, but are accompanied by a wish to present actions as innovatory.

In 1989 **New Internationalist** declared, 'now there is a new initiative to help such children - street education' (NI 1989:15). Outreach was clearly the aim of the Beadles of Christ's Hospital in the 16th century, and of the London City Missions. The 'drift' work of the RSU, an 'unceasing search for the poorest and shyest' included leisure activities in the parks, and the enticement of children to magic lantern shows in the Ragged Schools (Montague 1904:407-10). Quintin



Hogg's classes under London's arches and John Pounds' enticements with a hot potato were informal enactments of the same strategy. British detached or alternative youth workers and French street educators have been on the streets imparting knowledge about drugs, welfare rights, and routes to self-improvement since the 1970s.

The currently heralded "self-government" ethos clearly derives from Homer Lane's Little Commonwealth (est. 1914) and the post-war Children's Communities. But there is an earlier example. A report of 1788 describes the process in the orphanage of Chevalier Paulet. Each morning

pupils drew up as if for battle...The major, a young gentleman of sixteen years, stood outside the ranks, sword in hand...each officer made a report of his troop for the preceding twenty-four hours. The accused were allowed to defend themselves; witnesses were heard; the council deliberated and, when agreement was reached, the major announced the number of guilty, the nature of the offenders and the punishments ordered (in Foucault 1977:177).

Suspensions as to the degree of self-government this represents, seem equally valid for many contemporary ventures.

Facilitating "income generation" is also far from new. In 1597 English Poor Law overseers were ordered by statute to give begging children materials so that they could work at home. The provision of credit is also a common strategy. "Lending Cash Charities" were a feature of 16th and 17th century England. William Quarrier's News, Parcel, and Industrial Brigades, the London Shoe-black Society and the RSU's Rag-collecting Brigade were all precursors of "street child co-operatives". In Khartoum, the SKI (Street Kids

Incorporated) project operated a courier service; the boys received a much respected uniform (BBC 1987a.). In 1853 John Garwood remarked on the work of the former Ragged School boys used as messengers by The Electric Telegraph Company, complete with 'black trousers, red striped, and a little red jacket' (1853:79). Montague's description of The Central Reds (est.1874), when equated with current phraseology, reflects a model NGO (Fig. 20.).

Educational structures accommodating work patterns, such as UCEP in Bangladesh, were demonstrated by the 19th century Factory School system and RSU night schools, or, within state provision, by the Half-time system. Sunday Schools arose not from reverence for the Sabbath, but because this was the day on which children did not work. In the light of these precedents, it is remarkable that a UNICEF report considers the recognition of labour within an educational framework to be 'the most recent of approaches' (UNICEF 1986a.:10).

The extent of eventual RSU activity depicted by 'The Ragged School Tree' is a consummate exemplar of ideals which fall comfortably within current frameworks (Fig. 21.). This process of supporting children through schooling, within an integrated development programme which did not alienate them from their families, was summed up by Montague in 1904: 'all-round appliances for touching a wild and much tempted nature, and also catering for the family of which he was a member' (1904:189). There were even some ideas which do not feature at the present time: no NGO yet boasts a 'worn out teachers fund'

Fig. 20. The 'CENTRAL REDS' VIEWED WITHIN CURRENT TERMINOLOGY

**Central Reds (est. 1874)**

The schoolroom holds 100,

and there is sleeping  
accommodation for 44...

there is a coffee room,

bath,

and gymnasium...

the Society provides uniform  
and [shoe-black's] outfit...

the superintendent and his  
assistants get round to the  
stations to see that the boys  
are on duty...

He keeps sixpence for dinner  
boy...[and] one third the boy  
retains...

one-third is kept by the Society  
to meet the boy's expenses at  
the home,

and the rest is banked for his  
future benefit...

The school is under Government  
inspection and receives a  
Government grant.'

(Montague 1904:196-8).

**Current terminology**

- non-formal education
- non-institutional but  
residential if needed
- drop-in centre
- washing facilities
- recreational programme
- co-operative
- monitoring working  
conditions
- income generation
- self-funding project;  
not a 'hand-out'; child  
maintains dignity and  
self-respect
- capital for eventual  
self-reliance
- joint State/NGO initiative

*Photocopied*



or a 'teacher's rest cottage'. How different are the RSU endeavours from those of the present-day that prompt the ASPoSC evaluation in Brazil to conclude: 'No country in the world has ever developed an open, community supported system to deal with the problem of street children.' (Firme et al s.a.:155)?

General advocacy also equates. A recent conference presented the contemporary message:

It is essential that we change our attitude to street children and street youth by dissipating the error which would have us equate them with delinquents (UNICEF 1985b:2).

In the 1850s Mary Carpenter had expressed her 'objection to calling them even semi-criminal....I consider the condition they are in as that of extreme neglect.', and within the Victorian Reformatory movement M.D.Hill (brother of Rowland Hill) was publicly proclaiming:

"Are we to be told that we must bend to public opinion? No! We must **reform** public opinion! It requires even more reformation than the children of whom we have been speaking." (in Manton 1976:122).

The monitorial system was clearly a formalised Child-to-Child approach. Peer support was also encouraged after World War II when Greek Boy Scouts implemented 'preventive and re-adjustment work', befriending and enrolling 'children who for various reasons were in danger of becoming street urchins' (UNESCO 1951:26). Even the idea of street child meetings is not new. Mayhew organised a gathering of 150 boys, although the motive was more curiosity than advocacy (1862:45).

From a chronology of the development of actions and ideas it seems evident that most contemporary responses areprecedented, and that recent strategies not directly rooted in European experience are generally drawn from international consensus (Fig. 22). Liberationist education is the main aspect which appears to represent an endogenous third world ideal, but only in so far as it expects students to become autonomous, politicised activists. Michael Smith argues convincingly that contemporary thinking is rooted in 19th century Libertarian Education. The present critique of traditional teaching processes 'is one that Tolstoy could have recognised. In terms of influence Freire may owe nothing directly to the libertarian tradition of education but there can be no doubt that he stands within it.' (1983:110).

Other ideals differ more in emphasis than content. Child-related aspects which appear innovatory concern non-institution-based self-determination, and self-advocacy. William Wilberforce's **Climbing Boys Society**, facilitating the cause of Victorian chimney sweeps, was an isolated forerunner of this approach (Furneaux 1974:380). There is debate as to whether the current empowerment ethos exists to a significant degree beyond a few notable events and NGO publicity. But even so, as an educative method and a counter to paternalism, the ideal has potential.

There is a more marked difference in the nature of research, although Lord Ashley (Shaftesbury) appears to have proceeded in the tradition of the missionary anthropologist.

## The DEVELOPMENT of ACTIONS and IDEAS

							HIV/AIDS
							1988
							LIBERATION
							1987 -IST
							SELF-
							ADVOCACY
							1986
							DIALOGICAL
							1985 EDUC.
							RIGHTS
							1983
							DRUGS
							1980
							INTERNATIONAL
							RESPONSIBILITY
							UN
							1949
							1979
							INTERNATIONAL HARMONY
							(Children's Communities)
							UN
							1949
							Boy's Towns
							Self-GOVERNMENT
							Children's Communities
							Little Commonwealth
							1914 (Homer Lane) NGOs
							CUSTODIAL STATE SCHOOLING
							Truancy schools
							Alternative schools
							1870 Act
							'Teaching love'
							PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT
							Acceptability Social skills
							(M.Carpenter) for emigration Personal
							1857 constructs
							EDUC. CRIME DETERRENT
							1851 Gen.educ.= preven. UK Gov.
							Prison sch. teaching pack
							1846(France)1862(Lond.)
							NIGHT SCHOOLS
							RSU Polytechnics
							night schools
							1846 NGOs
							CONFIGURATIVE TEACHING
							Monitorial system Children's
							1791 Bell Communities
							Child-to child
							ARMY & NAVY TRAINING
							Sea Service The Maritime Society
							Revolutionary armies
							1703 Act Charitable homes
							Rasp Huis Education surveille
							Bridewells Observation centres
							1576 Act Reformatories Psycho-educ. Intermediate treatment
							MORALITY
							'decency and morality' Moral values
							1543 Rouen (Halligan)
							'out of bad habits into good'
							1849 (Arnot)
							ACADEMIC SCHOOLING
							Boys: Arithmetic
							'Learn their Writing
							letters' Reading General subjects
							1435 La Scala Computer skills
							Sunday schools RELIGIOUS TRAINING
							Oblation Mosque orphanages Boy's Towns
							Charity schools Ragged schools
							Foundling Hospitals Protestant conversion (Ireland)
							6th cent. Petites ecoles Islamic fundamentalism
							SKILL TRAINING - SELF-RELIANCE
							Apostolic Industrial schools Vocational schs.
							Constitutions Shoe-blacks Youth training centers.
							'art or Workhouses Domestic service Educational co-operatives
							handicraft' Bridewells Bonded apprenticeships Brigades
							3rd cent. Bible Bishop Booth WELFARE BASE
							Egyptian Food Christ's Butler:
							papyrus Shelter Hospit. Welfare+
							Clothes Education UNESCO UNICEF
							BC AD 1500 1600 1700 1800 1900 1950 60 70 80

He wished to determine

their natural history, their idiosyncrasy, their points of resemblance to the rest of mankind, and the part they maintain in the great purpose of creation (RSU 1880:193).

Henry Mayhew's approach was demonstrably ethnographic. In general, however, European responses arose from descriptive or comparative information exchange: there is nothing to compare with the ASPoSC study in Brazil, **El Gamin** from Colombia, or other ethnographic and evaluative tomes. Yet despite this, current conclusions as to how to address the problem are so remarkably similar.

The scale of contemporary information exchange is perhaps the most significant variance. UNICEF backed SKI, for example, has been the subject of a BBC TV documentary, and is frequently mentioned in international documentation. It helps about 60 of an estimated 10,000 'shamassa' in Khartoum (UNICEF 1987b.:12). By contrast in 1832, the **House of refuge for relief of the Destitute and to do away Street Begging** was catering for 4000 individuals in Glasgow, providing food, shelter and 'the ordinary branches of plain education'. It is unknown outside a brief entry in the Edinburgh Almanac (1836). The exponential impressionism of modern communications creates optimism, yet the ratio of response to problem is probably negligible compared to that in 19th century Europe.

It is understandable that individual practitioners need to believe that they are breaking new ground: workers are unlikely to be inspired by the knowledge that they are largely applying 100-year-old solutions to a 2000-year-old problem,



but within the policy thinking of national and international agencies, euphoric claims of "different" can marginalise endeavour, and in turn marginalise children. However, the desire to re-discover street children is itself not new. In 1850 Mary Carpenter wrote, 'We are entering on a new, and almost untried field of philanthropic effort' (p22).

Dallape indicates the central problem, despite the knowledge of European urban social history, 'The emergence of street children was NEVER FORSEEN in any national plan' (1987:133). Throughout periods of social change there has always been a delay in recognising and redefining the phenomenon of children on the streets. However, once diagnosed, as is now the case, the unawareness of a wealth of existing knowledge is less explicable. **Childhope** suggests that the role of NGOs is to 'blaze a trail to show by example that through the right kinds of programmes street children can be rehabilitated' (1988:4). This is very laudable, though in the long-term the question is not so much one of finding answers but of asking why existing answers cannot be consistently applied.

On the grounds that ideas and actions are preceded it cannot be argued that the number of third world street children will diminish as did that of their predecessors within a superficially similar period of European history. Contexts are less conspicuously equatable.

### The CONTEXTS of PAST and PRESENT RESPONSES (7.2.)

It is easy to point to the obvious differences of social context between European and the third world. Europe's street children have been the products of the world's richest nations; those of the present-day live in the world's poorest. At that time Europe was clearly developing; much of the third world is now de-developing. There are no European precedents to the scale of the amorphous shanty towns now surrounding the cities of the poor south. Money is worth so little in Peru that beggars go around with carrier bags: inflation is around 10,000% per annum. London's street children disappeared in parallel with increasing expenditure on education and welfare services, and an affluent charitable climate. Their contemporary counterparts coincide with a period of drastic reductions. Even the poorest Victorian schoolroom had basic furnishings; the provision of a blackboard for every classroom is at present a major objective of the Indian Education Ministry.

After World War II, the mass of war-vagrant children on the continent had almost evaporated within five years. Even the **furoji**, the thousands of homeless orphans who lived amongst the wreckage of Hiroshima, were hardly remembered a few years later. Despite a decade of declarations of global concern, the third world problem appears to increase exponentially. However, the apparent intractability of the situation was equally felt in the 19th century:

We may never hope entirely to abolish the child of the gutter. To a large extent...he is a natural growth of the vices that seem inseparable from our social system; he is of the world, the flesh, and the devil, and until we purge our grosser nature, and become angelic, we must tolerate him as we must the result of all our ill-breeding. (Greenwood 1869:76).

An integral part of Ebenezer Howard's plans for utopian Garden Cities at the start of this century were 'Homes for Waifs', 'Children's Cottage Homes', and 'Industrial Schools' (1902:22).

Urban demography is now on a different scale. World Bank projections suggest that by 2000, populations in Mexico City will be 31 million, Sao Paulo 26 million, Bombay and Calcutta 20 million. By comparison, that of Paris is now around 9 million, and Greater London 11 million. The demise of street existence in Britain coincided with a reduction in the birth rate at the start of this century. The present population explosion in some parts of the world ensures that the reverse will be the case at the start of the next. The poor countries have one advantage over their historical counterparts: better health care. Ironically this worsens demographically related problems.

As with laboratory experiments which deliberately overcrowd cages of rats, beyond a certain proximity a community begins to destroy itself. The current level of social implosion is seen as unparalleled. Concurrently, governments now have technological means of controlling the masses. The ability to forcibly re-locate, contain, punish, or conceal undesirables diminishes a form of pressure on the

affluent which, in the 19th century, precipitated more humane solutions.

These differences, however, are mainly a question of degree. Poverty, overcrowding and violence are not new. Whether things are better or worse than in previous epochs is a matter of how and where you make your measurements. The use of addictive drugs similarly permeates history; it is the **scale** of social implications that is now seen as more significant. HIV/AIDS is more difficult to relate to previous situations, although Venereal Disease had similar implications prior to the development of a cure. However, calls to eradicate or isolate so-called "risk groups" are part of the history of disease and epidemic.

Difference is more tangible on specific levels. Schoolrooms have never before contained pupils who terrorise teachers with guns, shooting other pupils, as in contemporary Soweto (Kumalo 1989:1). There are no reports that Europe's police reacted to street children with anything comparable to electric-shock torture, tear gas or insecticide, nor that community responses included the killing of and setting fire to those on the streets. Nevertheless, violence in classrooms or on the streets is, of itself, not new. Essentially, urban disorder is now bigger and faster: technology the key, the population explosion the precipitant. This is the major contextual variation, and therefore, urgency in remediation the greatest contemporary need.

In terms of economic context, the Brazilian socialist leader "Lula" eloquently depicts the general view of third world situation and its apparent roots:

I will tell you that the third world war has already started - a silent war...[it] is tearing down Brazil, Latin America and practically all the third world. Instead of soldiers dying there are children, instead of millions of wounded there are millions of unemployed; instead of destruction of bridges there is the tearing down of factories, schools, hospitals and entire economies...It is a war of foreign debt, one which has as its main weapon interest, a weapon more deadly than the atom bomb...

Between 1982-87 the rich nations extracted \$220 billion more in interest than was donated in the form of AID (NI 1989). The contention that neo-colonial relationships are the root of third world problems, however, carries a glimmer of hope. It presents a palpable, if elusive solution. The less optimistic view is that even if global and internal equity were achieved, things would be little better. The reality may be that globally we do not have the knowledge to keep pace with the urban problems that we have created.

It is also relevant to conjecture what present sympathies would be if the 19th century European situation had existed simultaneously with that of the present-day third world. Mineham, in a study of the **Boy and Girl Tramps in America**, provides an insight. Writing in the 1930s, he complained:

with 5,000,000 children in rags we gave cotton to China..., [are] contemplating the giving of machines and materials to Russia in order that Russia's youth may be well-clad and well fed while our own go hungry and in want. For while we were caring for other people's children, our own were in rags (1976:245).

It is probable that Europe with its own large-scale street child problem would fail to view a similar situation elsewhere as worthy of great concern. In Barcelona or Naples the question is already less than hypothetical. Compassion fatigue and a change in global priorities must be a variable in future planning, particularly in the light of present events in Eastern Europe.

Contextual comparison can derive either from reference to a continuum within which European history is seen to be a major determinate of third world circumstances, or to a juxtaposition in which the current third world situation is seen to parallel the history of urban development in Europe. As a continuum, a country such as Brazil represents a degenerate outpost of the declining Portugese Empire. As a parallel, taking 20th century independence to equate with the end of the Roman Empire, the third world is about forty years into its Dark Ages. Both perspectives seems to question the utility of actions or analysis. There is need to identify commonality of context beyond this impasse, in order to explain the urgency of the present situation, focus objectives, and most importantly to provide a basis for discussing the purpose of educating street children. One aspect seems irrefutable: urban disorder.

### COMMONALITY: EDUCATION WITHIN ENTROPY (7.3.)

Although Karl Marx lived in London throughout the second half of the 19th century, street Arabs do not appear directly to comprise any aspect of his discourse. This emphasises that whilst broad-based social theory contributes to contextualisation, it is less related to immediate problem solving. It seems equally questionable to utilise world views that reflect either the Greek notion of inherent degeneration, or conversely the idea of melioristic development (that the world improves and progresses through human intervention), as these depend upon subjective assessment of the present global situation. Street children pose the need for an urban-biased analytical framework, which acknowledges daily actualities rather than ethereal or unfulfilled optimism or pessimism.

Order within agrarian civilisation was founded on cyclical regeneration. Although this did not preclude development, linear change was a peripheral determinate of organisation. By contrast, within urban existence order is continually threatened and problems arise due to 'asynchronous social change' (Holmes 1981:76), or in anthropological terms, 'cultural lag' (Kneller 1965:80). In the 'World Crisis in Education' Philip Coombes provides this picture of urban life:

The cities are growing not only in size but in the complexity of their socioeconomic composition. The urb in the developing world is not a single social, economic or political piece. It subdivides into different geographic economic, and ethnic sectors, each occupied by people with very different backgrounds, education levels, types of employment, and economic status...Typically, more than half the entire population lives in slums and squatter settlements, and between one third and one half has no access to safe water supply or sanitary waste disposal facilities. (1985:46).

A tendency towards disorder, resulting from asynchronous change, provides a practical assumption on which to base analysis of the broad spectrum of urban society. Instead of asking, how does society maintain order? the question becomes, how does urban society avoid disorder? This suggests the notion of counteractive functioning to maintain equilibrium, of which education will be an aspect.

'Disorder' and 'entropy' can be used interchangeably (see Hawking 1988:145), although 'entropy', if implying progressive disordering, seems more apt. With reference to a dictionary, definitions of 'disorder' suggest characteristics of urban entropy which relate to contemporary issues -

#### DISORGANIZATION

The organization of personal affairs becomes unpredictable (e.g. through high inflation) whilst the chance to gain skills to counter this diminishes. Social networks and physical infrastructure breakdown.

#### CONFUSION

Personal knowledge does not keep pace with change, and the consequences of actions and relationships become uncertain (e.g. HIV/AIDS). Therefore good decisions become more difficult to make.

#### CORRUPTION

As legitimate means of obtaining an income regress, non-reciprocal income generation becomes a way of life (e.g. bribery; drugs dealing; "protection"). This leads to individual and social degeneracy.

#### IRREGULAR CONDUCT

Behaviour diverges from social norms (e.g. the absence of men due to migrant labour), becoming less predictable and more socially and personally detrimental.

#### IMMORALITY

Ideas of good and bad, right and wrong become distorted through necessity; stated and demonstrated moral values become at increasing variance.



#### EXTREMES

The accumulation of wealth and élitism become a survival strategy for those with the means; as a corollary the poor become poorer. Excesses of poverty are matched by excesses of charity. Alexis de Tocqueville concluded of cities: 'Here humanity attains its most complete development and its most brutish; here civilisation works its miracles and civilised man is turned almost into a savage.' (in Hodges 1974:157).

#### EMOTIONAL STRESS

The threat of violence, pressures on personal relationships, the absence of physical and human constants, and increasing hardship destroy personal equilibrium.

#### ILL-HEALTH

Mental and physical health suffer (e.g. chemicals in industrial processes; traffic accidents). Preventive and curative responses fail to keep up with increased hazards.

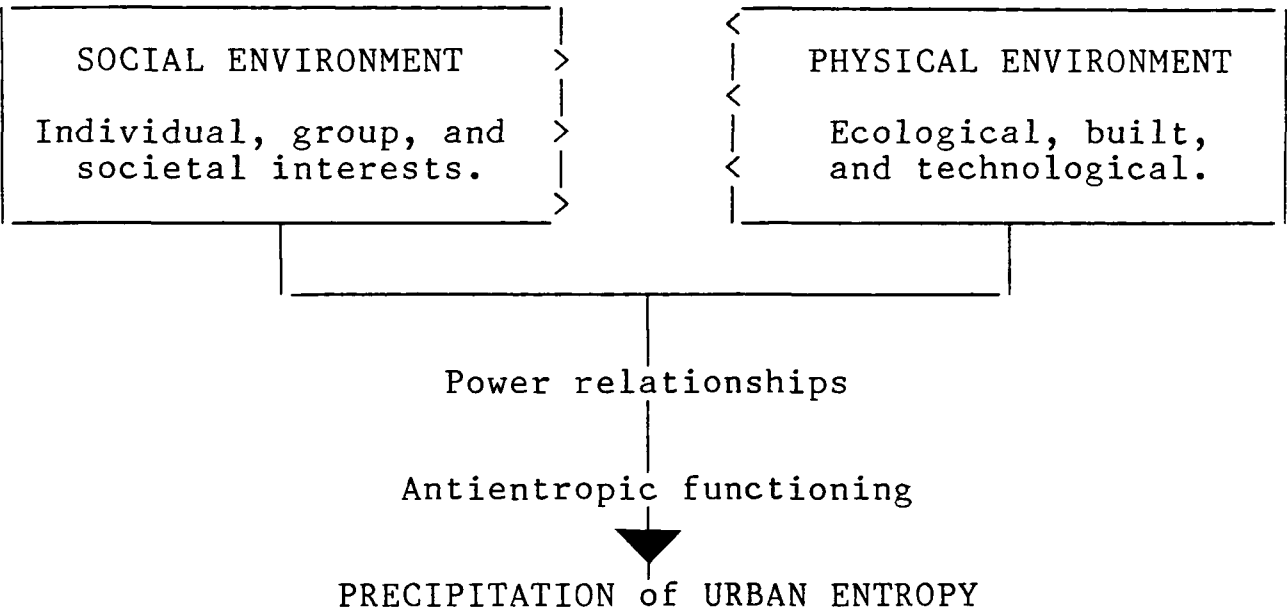
A cogent definition is provided by Anheim: 'Disorder is not the absence of all order but rather the clash of uncoordinated orders (1971:13). 'Diversity', or 'complexity' are therefore not aspects; these represent important survival mechanisms. An element of disorder and unpredictability can be an acceptable part of life, so too can a degree of mystery; these provide human challenge and are the basis of learning. The notion of an inherently entropic urban environment need not necessarily equate with moving from a desirable to an undesirable condition. It is the over-precipitation of the process that is a cause of concern. By analogy, the Earth has undergone dramatic climactic changes, but it is the likely speed of future change that appears threatening.

Wolf Wolfensberger, when considering 'human services organisations', takes as one axiom: 'Social entropy,

elusiveness of social order, and short life-span and even shorter periods of excellence of social organisations & institutions' (1988). Within this assumption, it becomes unremarkable that responses to unsupported children have tended to degenerate, and that actions themselves represent asynchronous change which in turn contributes to the disordering process. To focus on social entropy, however, can exclude ecological arguments. Furtado discusses development in terms of 'Man's productive activity [which] increasingly involves irreversible natural processes such as degradation of energy, which tends to increase universal entropy' (1977:636). This introduces an ecological aspect, but only in a contextually related manner. A consummate debate along these lines is provided by Jeremy Rifkin in **Entropy: a new world view** (1985). Since original publication in 1980, many of these arguments have become central to current public attitudes. However, Rifkin views ecological entropy as the determinate of social change, without considering influence in the opposite direction. Ecological and social entropy should be viewed as exerting reciprocal influence: urban disordering is precipitated by the functioning of both the physical and social environment.

Judith Ennew concludes, more directly, that the problem of street children 'combines aspects of human relationships and of the built environment' (UNICEF 1985:5). 'Human relationships' comprise social, individual, and group interests which are in conflict with one another. This **social**

**environment** is mutually dependent on the influences of the 'built environment', but also that of ecological and technological systems, together constituting the **physical environment**. These aspects can be depicted as precipitating urban entropy via the effects of antientropic functioning and power relationships (Fig. 23.).



**Fig. 23.** DETERMINATES of the PRECIPITATION of URBAN ENTROPY

The paradigm can be exemplified in terms of drug misuse. Within the physical environment technology permits mass availability, the use of land to grow coca has ecological considerations, and the nature of modern urban building provides cover for distribution. Within the social environment individuals may defend their right to partake, but societal and group interests are in conflict with this. Drug dealers

maintain power relationships through addiction, and education and law enforcement represent antientropic functioning. The whole determines the degree of precipitation of urban entropy.

The can prompt straightforward questions. For example, how, as a means of control, do those with power deprive others of the possibility of countering the disorder in their lives? How should those in power responsibly take control of the highly entropic aspects of urban existence? How might education and other social systems redress or contribute to these processes?

Logically, there can be no total antithesis to an inherently entropic condition. It is possible, however, to define the best way of existing within this state, of which a major aspect is not precipitating the process. To describe this notion the natural sciences can propose 'cohesion', 'the force with which the molecules of a body cleave together', but this might infer stifling proximity in social terms. Taken that 'cohesion' is 'the action or condition of cohering', **coherence** becomes a reasonable objective of antientropic functioning. It is difficult to find a more appropriate definition than that in the Oxford Dictionary:

logical connection; congruity, consistency; agreement. Harmonious connection of the several parts of a...system etc. so that the whole hangs together.

This proposes that social structures, particularly schools, should be **non-excluding**, but does not ignore the reality of social stratification and relative wealth. Rather than to create an egalitarian society, a more pragmatic aim is to

achieve a 'harmonious connection' between social groups as they exist. In accord with coherence are **inductive** educational strategies, such as requiring children to teach other family or community members. Contrary to the idea are **reductive** actions, such as institutions, which are separatist and usually achieve harmony, if at all, in isolation.

As a means of avoiding disorder, Stephen Hawking points to a hypothetical temptation to

just throw some matter with a lot of entropy...down a black hole. The total entropy of matter outside the black hole would go down. One could, of course, still say that the total entropy, including the entropy inside the black hole, has not gone down - but since there is no way to look inside the black hole, we cannot see how much entropy the matter inside it has (1988:103).

'Black hole' cures are prolific within the history of responses to non-mainstream children and other social problems. Fortunately Hawking can explain why too, in the physical world, the solution is illusory. When interacting with the laws of physical science, the human intellect has most successfully operated by making sense of the entropic process and proposing how to best work within it, for general human benefit. Development within the urban context might usefully be viewed as adapting to change as well as creating it. This emphasises the need for efficient predictive rationale.

Born in 1895, the inventor R. Buckminster Fuller was uniquely placed to observe the global urban explosion of this century. His conception of urbanism, entropy, counteractivity, and the role of the intellect, supports urban entropy as a

theoretical perspective. The entropic process of the physical world, he suggests,

is regeneratively countered by the contractive metaphysical capabilities of human intellect...Human mind is the most powerful selector and order formulator thus far evidenced in the universe (p392).

Fuller's analysis of urban functioning is as magniloquent as his geodesic domes, but he reiterates that intellect, as manifest by information ordering and exchange, is counteractive to entropy:

The whole of urbanism is a vast oscillating system - a world-embracing entropic, volcanic physical explosion countered at increasingly high frequency with the world-embracing, metaphysically contracting, and information concentrating system which regenerates by broadcasting and publishing its progressively generalised concepts for regeneration of man's antientropic functioning that fulfils his universe functioning (1969:390).

The antientropic function of 'mind...the most powerful selector and order formulator', through an 'information concentrating system...broadcasting and publishing its progressively generalised concepts', firmly proposes prevailing urban disordering as an educational problem.

Of separate but equal import, Fuller infers that those excluded from this process are denied the chance to fulfil their 'universe functioning'. Paternalistic actions of the human services professions frequently usurp the 'antientropic functioning' of others to enhance their own limited meaning of existence; the children's fulfilment of life functioning becoming fragmented and appropriated. This can explain why so many street children run away from seemingly utopian projects:

they want to be part of their own battle. Definitions of 'poverty' might usefully be extended in terms of alienation from the possibility of working against inherent disordering.

Actions and ideas propose an overall objective of street child education which is obvious, universal, but generally unarticulated: to be an antientropic dynamic within the urban environment. The existence of **preventive, corrective, and punitive** objectives supports this, and the development of responses (Fig.22) effectively represents a curriculum of antientropic education. Lord Northampton spoke of what 'was done by the Ragged School Union to remove the causes of disorder...' (in Montague 1904:vii), in Chile 'the State sees abandoned children children as an indicator of social disorder (irregularidad social)' (DCI 1989:10), and the ASPoSC evaluation specifies 'Appreciation of order' as an indicator of achievement with individual children (Firme s.a.:42). A recent film concerning youth drug abuse, **Les Enfants du desordre** continues the theme (Yannick Bellon 1989). As a natural concomitant, the etiological pattern holds 'disorder' as generic, suggesting that the number of street children in a community will be inversely proportional to the efficiency of its antientropic processes.

In summary, the assumptions underlying urban entropy as a conceptual framework are:

1. Urban living is characterised by **asynchronous change**. This creates an entropic state because of the lag between innovation and the adaptation of the social systems.

2. This entropic state is **inherent**: it can be countered but not prevented. Human action can precipitate or slow down the process; it is the speed rather than the existence of entropy that poses a threat.
3. The degree of disordering is influenced by **power relationships** at all social levels.
4. Society engages in **antientropic functioning** to counter disordering, of which a significant aspect is education. Within this functioning, **social coherence** is the general objective of education.

The acceptance of inherent entropy is not a licence for *laissez-faire* policy. There is a human requirement, which Buckminster Fuller would consider fulfils our 'universe functioning', to diagnose disorder. That is to differentiate between situations which are imperfect through ineluctable context and those which, without necessity, contribute to a disordering process.

2000 will probably mark the failure of the distributive justice argument, and the success of the ecological environmentalist one. The reason is clear. Environmentalism proposes a self-interest factor to those in power, whilst egalitarian ideals do not explain to the rich why they should share. There is an absence of incontrovertible evidence that a simple redistribution of wealth would improve the long-term condition of humanity in general, and the equity solution is founded on the questionable argument that to negate an effect it is only necessary to reverse the cause.



By contrast, within an increasingly chaotic world, the urban entropy argument can be presented to appeal to self-interest, not least because social disorder, embracing poverty, is a major ecological threat. If educational objectives work towards a coherent rather than an equal society, answers become less capital-dependent, and have a chance of finding agreement across the social spectrum. A congruous society cannot, of course, include mass poverty, but solutions do not necessarily have to be presented as contingent on class or economic parity. The objective becomes coherent diversity rather than unrealizable utopianism: a concern for ecological **and** social environmentalism.

#### Hypothesis (7.3.1)

From an evaluation of comparative sociology, Marsh determines a 'soft' hypothesis, 'asserting that some descriptive, qualitative "pattern" or structure of behaviour, relationship, etc., does or does not vary cross-societally.' (1967:17). Nobel laureate Conrad Lorenz considered that research was seeing what other people see, and thinking what other people have not thought (1983). A hypothesis appears a necessary predictive truism, indicating that obvious comparability can facilitate the disclosure of latent ideas. It is therefore proposed

that past and present experiences of street child education can be formulated in a manner which suggests how all children can be included within educative structures counteractive to urban disordering.

**PART THREE**  
**COMPARISONS and a FUTURE RESPONSE**

## INTRODUCTION

Current ethnography is providing an increasingly clear picture of the nature of street existence, NGO projects contribute appropriate strategies, but Ministries of Education appear the most probable source of widespread response. The problem is to utilize existing experience in a manner that might be replicable on a large scale. These proposals are not a blueprint for a street child project nor for a model state system, but represent an approach to thinking about educational structures that can be applicable to both as they exist in their present forms.

The formulation of any education policy poses straightforward questions:

- (i) WHO are those the proposals specifically intend to affect?
- (ii) WHY educate this group?
- (iii) WHAT should be the objectives, and how can responses be evaluated?
- (iv) WHERE and WHEN does the educational process happen?
- (v) HOW are they to be taught?
- (vi) WHY may logical proposals NOT be practicable?

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### WHO ARE "STREET CHILDREN?"

The development of language and formal definitions clearly identify a class of children in relation to street existence (1.1.). Public and professional opinion has consistently been recorded concerning the nature of this group (3.1.;5.1.). However, questions remain. Is this useful when considering policy, or does it artificially mark a group for special attention in a manner that is unnecessary and misleading? What about the borderlines? Is a child who sells matches for an hour after school each evening a street child? Are newspaper boys and latchkey children in the wealthy nations in this class? These would not usually be equated with the Dickensian street Arab, yet it might be argued that they are subject to similar influences.

There are two perspectives concerning the utility of 'street child' or other descriptive terms. Jo Boyden, for example, would suggest that categorisations 'are applied very loosely and can often lead to serious misunderstandings, resulting in interventions which are highly inappropriate and damaging.'(s.a.:15). Certainly the notion of 'unsupported child', deriving from the church response to foundlings and orphans, has been a central misconception. Even actual orphans, once on the streets, are far from being totally without support.

The counter-argument is that , however crude, terminology has often been the starting point for positive responses. Unclassified can mean unrecognised, and language has displayed the continued need to identify children in relation to street existence. The 1861 Select Committee on **The Education of Destitute Children** concluded that there was proper provision for 'criminal', 'vagrant', 'orphan', and 'pauper's children', but that 'After all these reductions there still remains a class to be dealt with,' (Commons 1861:xii). It could recommend no state action concerning those on the streets because of indeterminate status. The 'Ragged Class' were, in effect, identified as the deserving residuum by the charitable organisations.

Although arbitrary, an awareness of hierarchical relationships appears crucial to intervention. Educational projects have sometimes been unable to help a specific group of children, because they are driven away by another. The children themselves often define rigid class structures. In Turkey, a group was asked to draw various types of work on the streets and then, collectively, to rank them. This provided the means to ascertain their ideas of the relative status of particular life-styles. Of those peddling goods to tourists, the scent sellers are at the top of the trade, shoe-shine and other services are a class below, and these two groups talk with extreme disdain of those they call (inappropriately) 'gipsies', who only beg. In many locations there is a latent class of psychologically disturbed or physically handicapped

children. These can only scavenge and are sometimes badly abused by other street dwellers.

Perceptions can be refined by considering **all** children hierarchically within the context of street existence, juxtaposed to relevant ideas and actions - the education/welfare partnership. The relative importance of these altering in relation to the hierarchy: welfare takes on greater importance for those suffering serious estrangement and education becomes more relevant as dependency needs become less (Fig.24). It remains possible to focus attention on a particular area of this continuum, but it is evident that boundaries are not finite, and the notion of 'fluctuating classes', expressed in the 1861 Commons Report, can be accommodated.

Existing classifications are, however, far from perfect. Where, for example, would the children of families who live entirely on the street feature? As an alternative to viewing children in relation to specific aspects of street life, three broad **accumulative** determinates of remedial action can be proposed which, like Mary Carpenter's analysis, combine educational and ethnographic perspectives.

- (i) An 'assumed adulthood' status;
- (ii) school exclusion;
- (iii) a degenerative form of estrangement.

To provide a more complete view of children in relation to the street environment it is also useful to include **beneficial street use** and **no street use**.

Fig. 24.

'STREET CHILDREN' within a HIERARCHICAL  
CONTINUUM OF STREET USE

	Of (or in) the streets	On the streets	
UNICEF 1980s			
LONDON Greenwood (1869:6)	Homeless	Home owning	
ENGLAND Ragged children Carpenter (1850:74)	Professional thieves Regular beggars Dwelling without a home..dependent on themselves without even a nominal protector	Parents low and ignorant with no interest in education Parents too poor to send them to pay schools but who desire education for their children	
INDIA Srivistava (1963:12)	Vagrants from criminal or immoral homes	Regular vagrants	Early vagrants
NAIROBI Dallape (1978:35)	Totally abandoned Living in a gang with no ties to any community	With parents or relatives who could be able to look after them	
MEXICO (UNICEF 1987d.:19)	Completely abandoned Live in the street No relationships with families Use drugs Do not work	Vagrant children Wander the streets Maintain relations with families Do not use drugs Do not work	Working children Wander as they work Live sporadically or continuously with families Do not use drugs Work is principal activity
Determin-ates of remedial action			No street use> -----Beneficial street use -----Assumed Adulthood----- -----School exclusion----- -----Degenerative estrangement----- -----
	WELFARE	School-based welfare	Awareness
	Custodial care	Open-door services	STATE EDUCATION Homework support Supplementary educ Environmental educ Preventive educ.
	Outreach healthcare	Remedial networks	
	Supervised accommodation	Skill training	
	"Rescue"	Corrective educ.	
	Street educators	Part-time schooling	
	Socio-educative outreach	EDUCATION	
M.Carpenter (1851:38)	Reformatories	Industrial feeding schools	Free day schools
Education emphasises change of:		-----condition-----	-----capabilities-----awareness>

Within a hierarchy the question for state education becomes clearly defined: how can influence be extended further down the scale without institutionalising social malfunction? This is more realistic than asking how a indeterminate category of child can be made to fit existing provision.

#### ASSUMED ADULTHOOD (8.1.)

There are numerous suggestions that street life equates to some form of adult status. Garwood commented of the street Arabs, 'they are older when young than any other class.' (1853:4). Borelli held the same perception in to those in contemporary Naples: 'How old these children were...their knowledge seemed to reach the limits of all physical experience.' (1969:106). Hill, concerning child labour, spoke in 1857 of 'a premature and ruinous independence of life and action'. Paulo Freire echos the sentiment, 'They are premature adults seeking a means of survival...as a consequence of a social system that ostracises them from society.' (UNICEF 1987c.:11). Europe's war-vagrants were similarly viewed: 'They are not children, they are little old men and women...' (UNESCO 1949:1). The implications for such children are questioned in respect of those in present-day Lebanon: 'What does it mean for a child to lose his childhood, to become a responsible adult at age eight or ten [?]' (Randal & Boustany in Moorehead 1989:55). Henry Mayhew saw precocity manifest in



their extraordinary licentiousness. Nothing can exceed the extreme animal fondness for the opposite sex which prevails amongst them...it would appear that the age of puberty, or something closely resembling it, may be attained at a much less numerical amount of years than that at which most writers upon the human species have hitherto fixed it (1851:477).

Any perspective of those on the streets requires recognition of this adult mantle, but within an awareness that childhood and more certainly adolescence, are themselves social constructs. In some circumstances a parent seen as abandoning a 12-year-old to street existence may view this as no more than a natural progression into adulthood.

A view that recognises adult behaviour must also retain an awareness of latent childhood. Judith Ennew reiterates the picture of a child holding a knife in one hand, whilst sucking the thumb of the other (SCF 1987). She utilises the term 'proto-adults', although strictly speaking this could be applied to all children (in MacPherson 1987:202). This Jekyll and Hyde state might be emphasised by a concept of **assumed adulthood**. An assumed status can be seen to exist between the usual sociological division of 'ascribed status' and 'achieved status'. The condition is neither directly inherited, nor attributable to personal endeavour. It is apparent because of circumstances of birth, yet is theoretically within individual control. Like an assumed disguise, it is a presented state which hides something other. The notion can be extended to suggest that in a community with an over-proportionate number of children, some must assume adult roles to maintain social equilibrium.

Assumed adulthood has natural consequences. Regarding the law, Tomasevski argues: 'the child is treated as if it were an adult because it actually behaved as if it were an adult. Legally and morally, the child should not have been forced into adult type behaviour in the first place.' (1986:10). Welfare provision similarly needs to recognise a non-child status: 'they need safe caring adults not fostering/adopting. They are adults, they've seen so much...' (Russell 1988:59).

The obvious educational implications are recognised by Fabio Dallape:

The teachers must be aware that their learners are mature youth, almost responsible adults. They are independent persons, taking care of themselves. The learners would never accept to remain in a primary school situation where the relationship between teachers and learners is a relationship between adults and children (1987:82).

Without specific reference to street existence, the same idea is expressed concerning disruptive pupils in British schools.

Some children, through force of circumstance, acquire adult responsibilities and experiences and are given adult status by their families. School life, by comparison, can appear petty and restricting, and attempts to impose a subordinate pupil status on them meet with resistance and often withdrawal (in Jones-Davies & Cave 1976:6).

Bloch, in respect of those influenced by street culture, cites as a specific reason for truancy, 'Hatred of school because psychologically it keeps him a child, rather than a man.' (1958:181). Within remedial responses, adult status has frequently presented a problem. The **Children's Friend Society** found 'that the reformation of the vagabond children trained there is extremely difficult, if not impossible, when they are

admitted after the age of 12.' (Kay 1839:11). Contemporary projects experience the same dilemma.

An individual assuming a status that is only partially congruous with a natural state, is likely to project an seemingly schizophrenic personality. This may be no more than a highly developed ability to see more than one side to human nature and the variance between stated and demonstrated values. Children who survive by stealing and physical aggression will, for example, state clearly that theft and violence is bad and wrong (see Fig.14). Jobo's depiction of "A very bad man" appears to demonstrate his ability to recognise the simultaneous existence of differing personality and behaviour traits (Fig. 25).

There are four straightforward implications stemming from a recognition of assumed adulthood.

1. The imposition of adult status provokes a demand for adult self-determination, freedom and control; this requires accommodation in terms of teacher attitudes.
2. The practical ramifications of an adult life-style should be reflected in patterns of provision, e.g. Sunday or night school.
3. There is a need to recognise that direct integration with peer groups may be problematic.
4. There should be an acceptance of what might appear as disingenuous or confused interaction with others.

These are equally important when trying to deter drop-out, or attract those already beyond mainstream provision.

Fig. 25.

"A VERY BAD MAN"



This is a man, his head is like a ship.

Half his body is rotten, it's full of worms.

One eye is blind, his legs are not equal length.

He is a murderer, he throws worms at people.

His hair is like dogs hair, people think that he's  
a Rastafarian.

He wears a mask so that people cannot see the rotten half.

Jobo

## SCHOOL EXCLUSION (8.2.)

Concerning non-attendance in the 19th century, Kay concluded that 'The want of a schoolroom...is by no means the principal cause' (in Hill 1857:82). In some present third world cities it most certainly is, but the comment has some relevance to the present situation. Many 'pull' and 'push' factors have been common determinates of school exclusion when provision is readily available.

There has been little hesitation concerning the 'pull' influences which are known to prevent parents from sending their children to school. In 1857, Bunce blamed 'two evils - the poverty of a large class of people, and the absolute necessity which has been created for the employment of children.' Kay elaborated, poverty 'renders it impossible for them to pay the school pence and to provide decent clothes' (in Hill 1857:82). In a current ILO report, the provision of totally free schooling is not seen as an automatic solution to non-attendance, 'because one of the major indirect costs associated with schooling is the loss of the child's earnings' (Bequale & Boyden 1989:157). The attraction of work is not restricted to Victorian history books and the third world. It was recently reported that in a district of Washington, children as young as eight or nine are dropping out of school because they can earn up to \$200 a day as couriers or lookouts for drugs dealers (Rachman 1989:13).

Recommendations from the ILO in 1951 could have applied equally to Victorian Europe or the present-day third world:

1. Provision of free or low-cost school meals as a means of contributing not only to the health of the children but also to their maintenance and consequently the prevention of child labour.
2. Provision of free clothing to the children who otherwise would be prevented from attending school, their parents being unable to provide it.
3. Provision of free text books and other material for children whose parents are unable to buy such material (ILO 1951:26).

The poverty problem is regularly redetermined, fundamental cures remain elusive, yet remedial responses are obvious and uncomplicated. It is implementation not explanation that generally constitutes the impasse.

Neera Burra suggests that children should be paid to attend school (CSM 1987:B4). The St Joseph's Boys' Village in Ganguvarpatti 'sponsors the education of hundreds of children from their own homes by replacing the money they would have earned if they had been working.' (Inter-NGO 1985:4). It is difficult, however, to relate this to a state school situation where working children might potentially earn more than teachers. In a country with high inflation, the daily cash flow of street work is preferable to monthly remuneration. Would teachers acquiesce to daily pupil payments whilst themselves awaiting devaluing salary cheques? It appears to be a formula for corruption even if mass implementation were economically feasible.

Most contemporary, so-called street children have at some time attended school. 'Push' factors stemming from internal school dynamics are therefore important because they appear, at least superficially, more amenable to change. Individual

teachers cannot alter the social inequalities that cause pupils to be poorly dressed for example, but they can control whether they punish children for their condition.

The humiliation of failing a year is often a cause of street life (Schärf et al 1986:269). Flexible aptitude grouping seems greatly preferable to structures whereby 'failures' end up in attainment streams with much younger children. Demeaning teacher-attitudes and punishment are frequently cited by children as reasons for school avoidance. In 1985 the Zimbabwe Herald reported, 'A schoolboy, aged 7, died after he was beaten by his mathematics teacher for giving the wrong answer.' (in Knox 1988:49). Exile on the streets can often be viewed as intelligent, evasive action.

"Voluntary" donations to school funds, and expensive uniforms similarly exclude poorer pupils. The South African government has little doubt as to cause and effect: in 1989, fees and uniforms were deliberately re-introduced to deter the attendance of a backlog of students (Vendeiro 1989:13). It is ironic that many Black African states impose the same system.

The question of school uniforms is particularly absurd. Uniform at institutions such as Christ's Hospital or the Bridewells, was specifically to facilitate the inclusion of those who had lived on the streets into an educational process. In its modern form, the same action now causes street exile. From the 16th century through to the start of this, a uniform was the cheapest way of clothing poor children to fit them for school. Conversely, in an age of mass produced casual

wear and the constant discarding of unfashionable clothes by the wealthy, informal clothing is a less expensive solution for poor families or organisations. Current practice begs the question whether uniform is now used as an including or an excluding strategy.

Of equal import, is the simple fact that the schools are seen as a waste of time.

In England Hill blamed: The miserable character of so many of our town schools, many of which have neither library, desks, intelligent teachers or playgrounds (Hill 1857:82).	In India it is concluded that: Due to poor quality teachers, place, lack of books..the school atmosphere was also not very conducive to.. continuance in schools..these children took to gambling and roaming about..to pick-pocketing... (Cov.House 1983:154).
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For academics to express these views is considered creditable; from a parent it would be seen as interfering. The child who holds the same opinion and acts upon it is labelled deviant.

Mary Carpenter was clear that the street Arab would not attend a normal school:

these ill-clad children [would not] feel at ease in the company of clean and neat ones;...[they] have nothing to be proud of but themselves. They will not come to be looked down on by those who they feel superior to themselves in external advantages only.' (1851:33-4).

In 1950, UNESCO produced a more sophisticated realisation:

grave problems arise when war-vagrant children have to attend schools that do not meet their special needs...the free life within the [Children's] Communities, combined with the opportunity to exercise the maximum initiative and responsibility, is strikingly at variance with authoritarian methods in traditional schools (UNICEF 195c.:15).



It is not state systems **per se**, however, that are inappropriate to the needs of those with a non-mainstream childhood. It is the attitudes and practices within school organisation that create problems.

Reasons why those on the streets are not accommodated by existing school structures, cited by those who work with NGO projects, appear trivial but are far from unimportant to the pupils concerned:

They didn't fit into the school system and the school system didn't fit into their life...they had enough to bear without going through daily humiliations, and they disliked being told they were dirty and sons of prostitutes (Dallape in Cov.House 1983:64).

'Formal schools need clean uniforms, punctuality, doing of homework. If there has been a fight in the house at night, or no food cooked the child will come to school late, so he is punished. A few times of this and he opts out...No place at home results in no homework done, or books are dirty. Both result in punishment.' (Society for Educational Exploration, Bangalore).

'the school's rigid requirement on the child's good moral character' (ERDA, Philippines)

...a set pattern of study - parrot wise. Street children are street clever. They don't fit into normal school because they can't wait - or they have been used to earning and want money...They believe in the 3 F's: Food, Freedom and Films. None of our school system fit these kids. (Snehasadan, Bombay).

(1989: questionnaire survey)

Those who have lived on the streets are not inherently opposed to attending. Residential projects such as Snehasadan in Bombay demonstrate that if adult support is appropriate, in the form of family-style care, many will attend local schools.

Obtaining the children's views is not difficult. In Bombay some were asked to draw, "The good/bad things about

school" (Fig. 26). They appear quite content with a formal classroom, and frequently the "good thing" is quite simply school work. The important aspect highlighted is the relevance of abuse between children, a factor rarely mentioned by other sources, although 'being bullied by other children [at school]' appears as one of the reasons why British children run away from home (TCS 1989). This type of exercise could usefully be part of formal school inspection and internal evaluation.

Another aspect that has received little attention is the attitudes of children within schools to the possibility of those from the streets joining their class, yet this knowledge is a prerequisite of any integration strategies. Informally school children in Bombay come up with one answer: "They smell." This response should not be taken lightly. Hygiene is a basic survival skill, and a sense of susceptibility in the face of apparent contamination is a strong and reasonable emotion.

It might be taken as self-evident that simple measures could modify the pattern of school exclusion:

Ministry control:

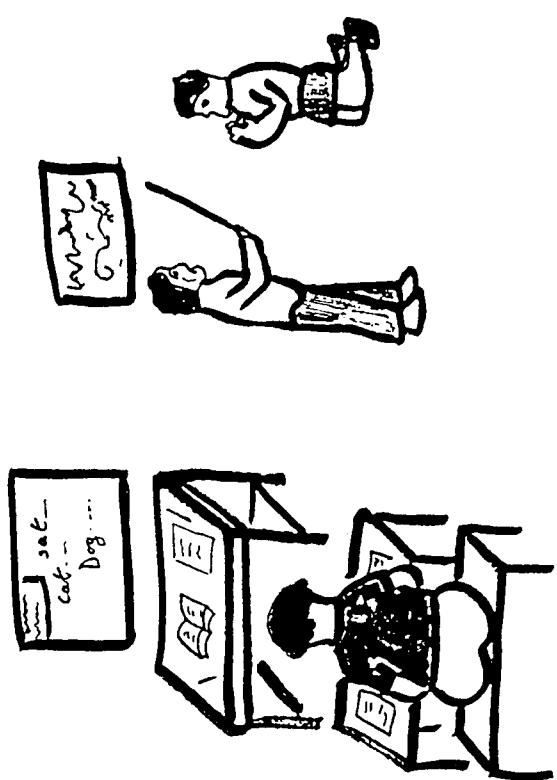
- Totally free basic schooling. This entails the prohibition of "voluntary" fees, especially if enforced through social blackmail or shame.
- Classes according to interest and immediate needs, rather than 'failing' and 'repeating'.
- Provision commensurate with children's work patterns and requirements.

Headteacher/class teacher control:

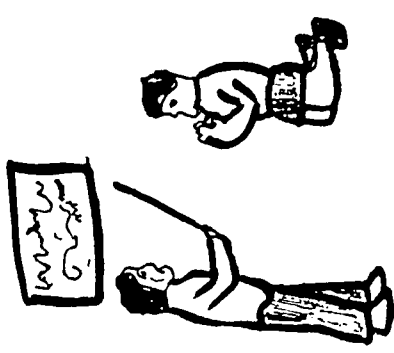
- No physical punishment.
- The avoidance of sarcasm, personal derision, and demeaning attitudes.
- The presentation to parents and pupils of schooling as being relevant, and schools as being "good".

Fig. 26.

"GOOD/BAD THINGS ABOUT SCHOOL"



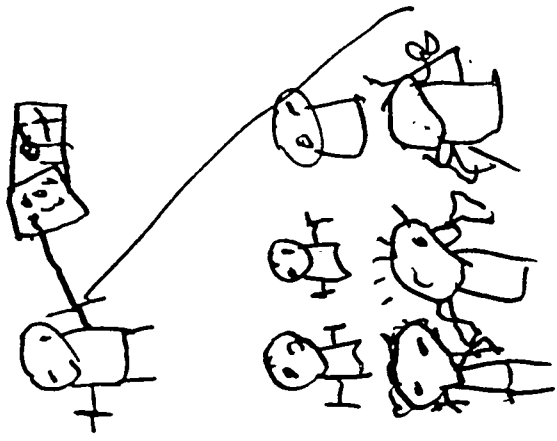
Good - doing work



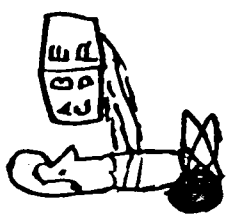
Bad - being beaten



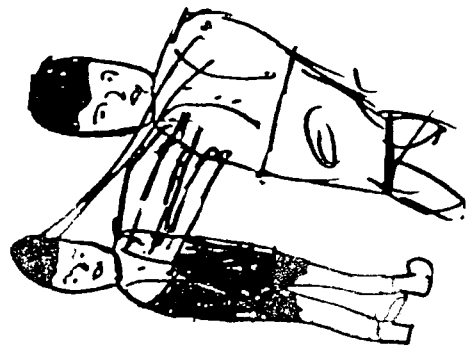
Bad - boys are teasing the girls.



Good - the teacher said, "draw something." The girl drew but did not draw right. The teacher hit her, but when she said that she was blind the teacher apologised.



Good - learning things



Bad - fighting

- No school uniforms, nor insistence on a standard appearance [sometimes Ministry control].
- No punishment for late arrival or absence.
- Less emphasis on written homework, and facilities for children who cannot work at home.
- Less concern with unclean school-books.
- Insistence on cleanliness and personal hygiene only within the possibilities of home and school amenities.
- The avoidance of ostracising poorly clothed and equipped individuals.
- The avoidance of abuse between children.
- A valuing of the children's knowledge equally with that which the school wishes to impart.
- Varying meritocratic criteria, e.g. a good story teller can achieve status parallel to the good mathematician.
- The non-imposition of class-related values.
- Recognition of the importance given to freedom and self-determination.

It is only the first factor that has direct financial implications. Many other aspects could be addressed within a single staff meeting or directive. These proposals derive directly from a knowledge of the children, but also reflect longstanding opinion amongst educational theorists. Mary Carpenter's reformatories, the Brenton Asylum, the Colonie Agricole at Mettray and many others specifically avoided physical punishment with "problem" children, for example, so why is it necessary with so-called "normal" children? Again questions revolve around the politics of implementation rather than the need for further explanation.

For those who are excluded from school, the very existence of a state education system compounds their predicament. From an ethnographic study of juvenile vagrancy in India, Srivastava indicates why:

A truant not only avoids his school but also his home. To escape his parents and his home where he has to account for his absence from the school he moves out to places where he can remain unnoticed...These dual forces that make him dodge both home and school alike urge him forward with a greater insistence on the road to vagrancy and even delinquency at times (1963:116).

This double estrangement is crucial in an understanding as to why schools can rank as independent causative agents. Prior to the advent of compulsory schooling, the potential vagrant would have recourse to home at any time; fear of recrimination now precludes this. Punitive attitudes to truancy, at home and school, are likely to be a significant cause of street existence.

South Africa furnishes a recent example of the results of a large-scale alienation from schooling. In 1986, **The New Nation** reported between 3000 and 5000 'educational refugees' between the ages of 13 and 18, seeking uninterrupted education. Many 'roamed the streets for days with their belongings trying to find placement in schools' (p5). Three years later, an educationalist talking of the continued disruption in Soweto's schools declared, 'We have to deal with the reality of 2000-odd kids roaming the streets now...Patch-up work cannot be accepted in principle.' (Vendeiro 1989:13). Ken Hartsthorne indicates how disaffected older youths bring their anger into the lives of those already estranged: 'Rejected by the education system, they have become the leaders of the street children.' (in Laurence 1989:11). 1985, the year of school disruption was immediately followed by a proliferation of projects for street children. A drawing of 'school' by one

South African street child needs little elaboration (Fig. 27).

The ultimate consequences were concluded in the press in 1989:

...the recent spate of hijacking of cars, abduction of girls and general signs of gangsterism [are] an after-effect of the large number of pupils who dropped out during the 1985/86 school crisis..."Today's protesters, angry at their exclusion, express their resentment by attacking school property and...the pupils and even teachers and principals." (Rantao & Valentine 1989:11).

NGOs have also not been free from excluding practices. It was candidly stated that entrance to the Pestalozzi Village at Trogen was through an intellectual turnstile: 'they should be intelligent enough to be able to benefit from the special educational opportunities offered by the villages' (Buchanan 1951:16). The comments of a nun regarding a South African project hardly reflect unconditional acceptance:

"We took [accommodated] only those who were attending our educational programme classes - we felt we owed them something because they were on the road to accepting a structured environment. We didn't want to mix children who weren't interested with the children who were because it would lead to conflict." (Broughton 1989).

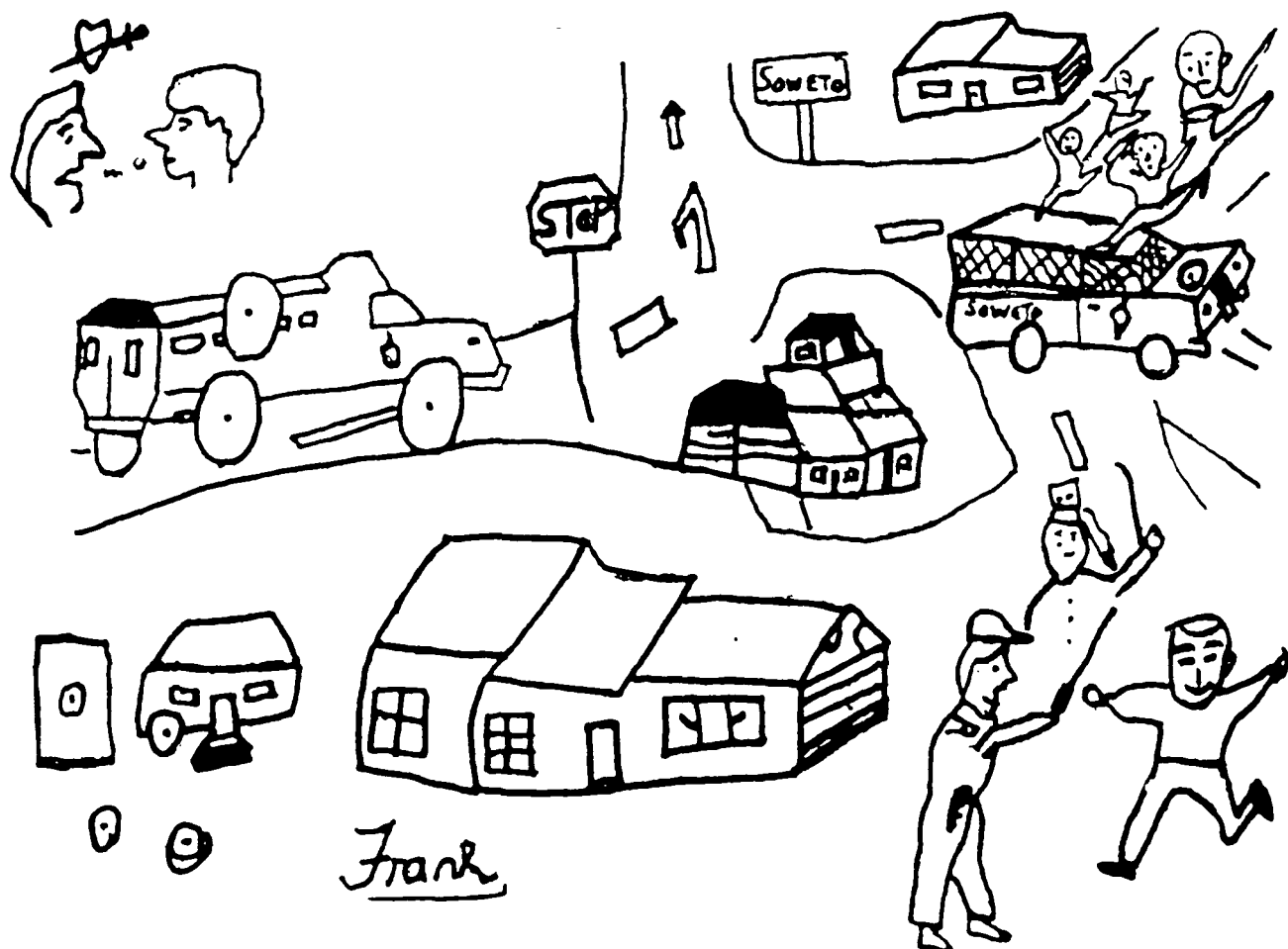
At the **Bosconia - La Florida** programme, compliance is the passport to higher stages. Those wishing to enter the dormitory must have given up drugs, and will be challenged: "'I don't believe you really want to enter the programme! You don't do you?'. The boy must reply: "Yes I do, I mean it!". The criteria for proceeding to to next level entails that 10% drop-out; entrants must declare: "I want to change and make progress, because I renounce sin."' (Inter-NGO 1984:9-13). The programme emphasises that it does not aim to reform or re-educate the boys, but there is little need - those needing

Fig. 27.

"SCHOOL" THROUGH the EYES of a  
SOUTH AFRICAN STREET CHILD

The theme for the drawing was simply "school". The scene is a reminder that educational aspects can be of little significance to children during civil turmoil and indicates the reasons underlying recourse to street life in South Africa. It also indicates the futility of considering "reintegration" under such circumstances.

'This is in Soweto. It's children fighting with the police. They come from school. The school is not on the picture. The school is broken up. I saw them fighting like this...This is a Hippo [armoured vehicle]...These are tyres they took to burn a Rastafarian. They put it round his neck and poured on petrol. They burnt him to death. He suffered while he burnt: he cried and screamed.' [A method of mob execution known as "necklacing"]



correction have already been eliminated. Whilst it may seem wise to avoid the problem of a drug-using clientèle, this basis for exclusion is not practised in, for example, prestigious universities throughout the world. What, therefore, is the moral justification for applying this sanction to children who have more reason to have become addicted?

Although rarely admitted, many contemporary responses cannot fail to reflect this situation. Terms like 'self-referral', 'client led' or 'free to attend or not', often indicate that projects simply identify the most compliant or able children as, "the ones we can help most." NGOs are nearer to basing their objectives around the question, why do children attend? rather than why do they drop-out? But it is delusory to conclude that they are demonstrably better at offering unconditional acceptance.

Solutions lie in the acceptance of social coherence as a central philosophy, and therefore of non-exclusion as an integral school/project objective, which assumes an equal importance to other measures of achievement. Actions to the contrary are not excused by financial exigency. They represent the active disordering of society through education, which can be as dysfunctional as deliberate schools of crime.



### DEGENERATIVE ESTRANGEMENT (8.3.)

Terms such as alienated, estranged, and marginalised are frequent throughout the literature. Judith Ennew talks more specifically of the 'extra-social status which defines the vagrant' (in UNICEF 1985:28). Such concepts are not new; earlier this century the psychologist Alfred Adler was considering 'demoralised youth':

They play the role of people whose feeling for society is defective, who have not discovered the point of contact with their fellow men... (1932:348).

Isolation is recognised by phrases such as voicelessness or Freire's 'culture of silence' (1972:10), but these can infer the absence of a message rather than a communication barrier. More appropriately, Swart uses the anthropological term 'muted groups' to describe the Johannesburg **Malunde** (1988c.:147).

Although useful, these concepts are restricted in that they infer a static condition. Mary Carpenter's phrase the 'perishing classes' more aptly depicts a degenerative process for those at the lower end of the scale. Downward spirals are commonly recognised:

<p>ENGLAND, Guthrie: Begging is the next neighbour to thieving; he steals, and is apprehended, cast into prison, and having marched along the public street, shackled to a policeman, and returning to society with the jail-brand on his brow, any tattered shred of character that hung loose about him before is now lost...He descends, from step to step, till a halter closes his unhappy career (1847:12).</p>	<p>INDIA, Srivastava: ...the boys run away from the schools and become habitual truants to find a gang leader waiting for them at the dark alley or street corner for initiating them in smoking, gambling, junking and thieving. One or the other of these activities becomes central and creates secondary anti-social habits and behaviour patterns, and thus the boys easily slip down to a hardened and complex criminal career (1963:vi).</p>
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Charles Forss depicted the consequences: 'they are active, intelligent, and useful, if young, but when of the age of sixteen or seventeen, I find them so confirmed in cunning and bad habits, that it is difficult to be of any use to them' (1835:26).

Viewing school exclusion in relation to the street hierarchy proposes an interesting correlation. In terms of children generally using the streets, figures suggest a surprisingly high attendance rate:

Asuncion            - 82% of school age 'working street children' go to school (Espinola 1987:93).

Johannesburg      - 95% of street children, now in NGO shelters, have been to school at some time (Richter 1988b.:14)

Lima                - 'between 80 and 90% of working children...attend school, even if only intermittently' (Boyden 1988:13).

However in Bombay, using the criteria 'roofless and rootless', only 26% have known school life (CRY 1989a.13). The comparison is crude, but it would suggest a tangible relationship between total school exclusion and total estrangement. Local ethnographic studies might be able support the notion that a brief but effective period of schooling could obviate the more serious consequences of street existence, although methodology would need to account for the fact that exclusion may not cause estrangement. The two may be parallel symptoms of an overall condition.

The seemingly finite state of street existence is commonly noted. Greenwood suggested:

The genuine alley-bred Arab of the City; the worthy descendant of a tribe that has grown so used to neglect that it regards it as a privilege, and fiercely resents any move that may be taken towards its curtailment (1869:77).

The situation regarding the modern London counterpart is nicely concluded by Nick Hardwick, 'it's impossible to get the street culture genie back into the bottle' (in Ward 1989:23).

Degenerative estrangement depicts a self-irreversible array of Catch-22s, which regressively alienates individuals and groups from family, support and socialisation networks, and eventually themselves. Educational intervention must be commensurate with the level of estrangement, constructing avenues of understanding between individuals and a stable existence, but recognising that successful upward mobility will probably be in stages. More importantly an awareness of the process affirms the need for urgency of action: degenerative estrangement results from and significantly precipitates the dynamism of social entropy.

#### BENEFICIAL STREET USE, and NO STREET USE (8.4.)

There is nothing intrinsically wrong about street existence. One of the early usages of 'street child' was to describe those who simply used the roads and pavements as a regular playground (RSU 1893:112). For some children, living outside the home can be a transient experience. A study in Cape Town found that adult vagrants were not be the progeny of the young

**strollers**, although, 'while strolling may be only a phase, it is a fairly long phase for some.' (in Burman & Reynolds 1986:282). In Birmingham, an unpublished Children's Society survey indicates that 90% of admitted runaways went home within a week; an American study notes that 38% of its sample returned home through 'own initiative' (Hines 1988:236).

The encounter need not be destructive. Hines lists the reported outcome of running away as, 'violent' 3%, 'negative' 20%, 'positive' 25%, 'neutral' 52% (1988:236). When home pressures are intolerable, a period away may well be a sensible avoidance of abuse or further tension. The income from street labour can be the crucial factor permitting a family to stay together.

An observer from the Ragged School Magazine produced a thoughtful article concerning the development of motor skills through street life, concluding:

A well bred child would be slow to discover such a practical use for its hands, and would certainly be less likely to learn by imitation than the street child who lives by its wits (RSU 1893:112).

From a contemporary study of street children in Colombia, Aptekar argues in similar manner that,

It may well be that street life, rather than taking away cognitive growth, actually adds to it. There are many daily activities that street children perform associated with improving cognitive skills, and in fact are often used in classrooms for such purposes.' (1989:99).

In **Streetwork: the exploding school** Ward and Fyson develop a street pedagogy specifically to redress the absence of environmental learning entailed by formal schooling (1973). It

could be of great benefit to educate pupils how to use their journey to and from school in a constructive manner, through observation, noting and discussing changes, etc. Of greater import, children need to learn about the dangers of chance encounters when on the streets, most significantly with drugs pushers. The skill of urban education is to filter out the negative aspects of street life without negating its benefits.

There is also need to account for those who make no use of the street. These include disabled, working and incarcerated children who are confined to buildings, and an alienated élite: those from wealthy families who are confined to the home, the car, and the school with little knowledge (and often considerable fear) of the daily street existence of most of the populace. It is of equal importance to educate this élite. The idea is already reflected in development education and the general work of NGOs. In Bombay, the educational NGO **Parisar Asha** has produced audio-visual material to educate children in general schools about the life of the city's ragpickers. An official government English language textbook from Delhi makes use of an unsentimental but sympathetic story of an 'outcast orphan ragpicker'; other socially aware extracts in the book include pieces on begging and child labour. The outcome of a party to make white middle class girls aware of black street children, at the PROsCESS project in South Africa, was girls in tears stating simply, "We didn't know they were so nice."

#### CONCLUSION (8.5.)

Depending on the level of street existence change is seen as either desirable or imperative. Mary Carpenter reflected this in her scheme for three separate types of institution: reformatories, industrial feeding schools, and free day schools. A separatist structure is not in accord with the objective of social coherence, nor should school systems revolve entirely around street life! The requirement can equally be recognised in terms of the **emphases** of educative endeavour, which could well exist within a single school or even a pupil group. There are three broad, overlapping objectives which relate to the hierarchy (see Fig 24):

1. To change the **condition** of those trapped in the spiral of degenerative estrangement. Education is likely to be corrective of attitudes relating to drugs, unnecessary crime, and the desire for continued street existence.
2. To change the **capabilities** of those for whom street use is, in part, a positive aspect of their existence. This entails accommodating an assumed adult status.
3. To change the **awareness** of children who do not use the streets to a significant degree concerning:
  - (i) the problems of those on the streets, to encourage a more sympathetic and helpful attitude, and
  - (ii) the potential hazards of street use, for example exploitive influences, drugs, abduction, and the general pattern of irreversible downward spirals, i.e. preventive education.

Although inevitable, the categorisation of children inhibits as much as facilitates change. This is in part because it usually represents an objective view. Definitions of disadvantaged groups might usefully be qualified with a subjective element along the following lines:

Their lifestyle is such that it is impossible for them to change those circumstances of their condition, which they themselves would deem intolerable, entirely through their own efforts.

From this notion it also becomes clearer that those existing in a personally or socially disordering manner, who do not find need to change, determine themselves deviants or ill from the perspective of the core community. Of greater import it emphasises the need to support those who wish for change, but cannot bring it about.

### WHY EDUCATE THEM?: PRESENTING PURPOSE

Having identified a educational clientèle in relation to street existence, arguments for *laissez-faire* policy appear disarmingly rational. Why bother with those who display a serviceable wit, and who already function as adults? They appear reluctant and disruptive pupils - is it not more worthwhile to concentrate meagre resources on the willing and able? It is proven that the education of each individual in a city is not necessary to sustain the life of the total population - the deliberate creation of élite cadres and a compliant labour pool is a sustainable, if unpopular, argument. Relating education to national development and human resource needs, appears absurd when well qualified individuals seem unwanted by the labour market. Surely any form of educational intervention amongst the poor is just rearranging the meritocracy - a few may enjoy greater life-chances, but inevitably at the expense of others.

In contrast to these assertions, NGOs appear to have difficulty stating clearly why their educational endeavours are necessary. Purpose has been presented on the grounds of religion, individual justice and self-reliance, in terms of rights, or substantiated by questionable claims of inevitable criminality. This has generally failed to convince those with the power to make widespread provision, or, in many instances,



even the children concerned.

Redressing disorder within the lives of individuals, groups, or society in general has, however, continually provided a general notion of purpose. The problem is perhaps less one of determining why educational endeavour is worthwhile, but of focussing and presenting this as affecting those who influence action: power groups, executants, parents, and the children.

#### POWER GROUPS (9.1.)

The power to frustrate the possibility of education for an individual is exercised at many levels. Family members may sometimes prefer to exploit a child through prostitution or begging in preference to encouraging schooling. Whole communities will sometimes act against the efforts of an organisation which threatens to interfere with the income brought in by their young. Similarly, commercial concerns which depend upon cheap child labour have a vested interest. Exclusion may stem equally from Ministry officials opting to build a prestigious technical college, as from local teachers who enforce the requirement for uniform. Presenting purpose within this spectrum of power relationships is not a straightforward exercise.

Case histories can be presented to suggest that ignorance associated with street life culminates in abject misery and eventually the death of individuals, but whatever the human sentiment surrounding this situation it does not usually

affect those exerting influence. To some it may present street existence as a self-solving problem; for an evolutionist, the situation is rationalised as the survival of the fittest. The humanitarian argument was pertinent following World War II when vagrant children were sympathetically viewed because of their clear status as victims, and valued because of a reduced child population; similarly after the Nicaraguan revolution. This sentiment does not generally prevail. Power groups have more often been motivated by two arguments: personal threat, and economics.

Writers have emphasised the retributive nature of crime:

These miserable and neglected wretches revenge themselves on society by preying upon it, and feel a sort of pride in a course of successful robbery, which a wild Indian would do in a good hunting expedition.  
(Cornwallis 1851:81)

The Gamines...do not realise they are the product of social injustice, nor that that their activities are a sort of chaotic revenge for that injustice. They are waging a selfdefeating, individualistic war of crime,  
(Harrison 1982:157)

It is widely cited that in Sao Paulo 80% of adult convicts grew up on the streets; the Aga Khan develops the view suggesting that 'the street children of today may become the guerillas of terrorists of tomorrow.' (Agnelli 1986:64;19). Individual case histories are used to portray the justice of petty crime. New Internationalist reports a child who, when asked why he stole, apparently replied (with the coincidental lucidity of a NI reporter): 'There are some people who have everything. I have nothing. I steal because when I ask, they give me nothing' (1989:13).

Does this approach have the desired effect? The resultant portrayal of the children seems more likely to prompt demands for clear-ups, relocation, and containment than for schools. Drawing attention to negative behaviour may, in the present social climate, lead to greater abuse and perhaps killings.

To highlight exploitation through labour can have little better effect. Refuse collection in Cairo is entirely dependent upon the Zabalin children aged upwards of four; Sowetans keep their fires burning because of the delivery service of coal-children, some as young as eight. Unfortunately there is every disincentive to place working children in schools if to do so might threaten an already precarious urban infrastructure.

The spread of disease is also presented as posing a general threat. In South Africa one headline proclaimed, 'Recipe for urban disaster...Street children suspected of having typhoid are roaming around Durban...' (Tribune 1989:9). The portrayal has been paralleled by calls for custodial containment, not health education.

The spread of HIV/AIDS provides a central current concern. The veracity of the situation in the USA is lucidly depicted by Patricia Hersch:

Like other adolescents, street kids spend a lot of time in sexual exploration with multiple sex partners, only they are more active. They trade sex for money, lodging, drugs and nurture..."They go home and sleep with their [old] friends, they sleep with their parents, they sleep with each other - there is hardly anybody they don't sleep with. And, of course they sleep with their johns [customers], who sleep with their wives and who also may be sleeping with their kids and their secretaries." (1988:34).

It can be argued that general schooling facilitates AIDS education, and that otherwise incorrect knowledge will prevail. In Bangkok, prostitutes think that as AIDS is a wasting disease, they cannot catch it from anyone who is fat (Vallely 1989:49). However, it will be questioned whether children with non-existent futures will be concerned about a health problem that might take seven years to have effect, even if financial circumstances permitted a response. In Mexico

Some doctors say a fragmentary glimpse at the likely scale of the AIDS tragedy among street children should have shocked the government into a comprehensive testing and education programme. Instead health officials appear to have been so disturbed by what they saw that they looked the other way...Any semblance of education about the virus fell victim to inter agency squabbling and opposition from the Catholic Church..."We [Pro-vida] say that Aids is a moral problem sent by God. We tell the boys you should not have sex with another man... (McGreal 1989:31).

Already it is suggested that prostitutes with a knowledge of the nature of AIDS might see this as tool of revenge against exploitive clients, rather than a reason for caution. The connection between education and prevention is likely to appear too nebulous, but the link between prevention and the elimination of so-called risk groups will be all too apparent.

Presenting purpose in relation to threats to the dominant community in general is an unpredictable exercise. Specific targeting can be less uncertain. In Victorian Aberdeen, the police were persuaded to fund teachers for Sheriff Watson's Industrial school by directing the crime argument at those charged with the responsibility of solving the crime problem,

not those who might be victims of it (3.4.). At the present time, Health Departments might similarly exert leverage concerning the need for general schooling; local administrators, tax collectors, census officers may be possible allies concerning the desirability of literacy and numeracy programmes.

Another approach is to focus on past achievements. Lord Northampton was clear that education had done much 'to remove causes of disorder', but his commentary does not present a negative image of the children.

When ragged school teachers first began their efforts to save the children...loyalty, law and order were all in danger. England had been sleeping on a volcano, and wise men saw plainly what a sudden eruption would entail. Poverty, ignorance and discontent were elements of danger, and the great chasm between high and low, between rich and poor, seemed to point to a serious outbreak of social trouble (in Montague 1904:vii).

Statements retrospectively attributing the prevention of disorder to an educational process, are less likely to engender negative responses than those highlighting irregular behaviour to propose schooling as a possible cure. The link between disorder, street existence and education is presented to the public as a solution not a threat. The effect can be strengthened by careful use of language: "involuntary theft" is less provocative than "crime", "problem of substance misuse" is preferable to "drug addiction".

Presenting economic arguments can also be less precarious. Assertions concerning the cost of educative endeavour versus reactive containment have been frequent:

Annual cost of a:  
Prisoner.....16 guineas  
Workhouse.....£10.12s  
Industrial School...£3.15s  
(Garwood 1853:80).

As a measure of their economic advantages and desirability, a comparative study...has estimated very roughly that the costs of operating such a project and those of an average governmental institution are in the proportion of 1:100.  
(Inter-NGO 1984:4)

Mayhew presented the argument in the light of school exclusion and degenerative estrangement. Of a 12-year-old he concluded:

Assuredly, had he been sent to a school for some few years, instead of to a prison for two days, when he stole a bottle of pickles, there might have been some chance of rescuing him; but now the task seemed almost hopeless. In a few years more he will probably be at one of the convict prisons...(Mayhew & Binney 1862:412).

In present-day Britain, expensive alternatives to custody such as Intermediate Treatment Centres are favoured because residential care is known to cost up to £600 per child, per week, and secure units - £1200.

Although effective, economic arguments can fail through false reasoning. Inferences that NGO projects are more cost-effective than state schools often ignore significant aspects of the equation. Their teachers have been trained, curriculum developed, textbooks printed, exams set etc., at state expense. Educational Ministries must conceive expenditure in terms of building schools not borrowing church halls, and of employing staff rather than managing dedicated volunteers.

Practitioners have often presented their case in terms of achievements which are then seen as less impressive when viewed by those with a broader perspective.

<p>From time immemorial [the street Arab] has been the pet of the philanthropist. Unsavoury, unsightly bantling as it is, he is never tired of fondling it, spending his time and money over it, and holding it up to commiseration of a humane public, and building all manner of homes and asylums for it; but still he remains on hand...the triumphant reports of this and that charity point [out that]...This home has rescued so many little ones from the streets- that asylum can show a thousand decently clad and educated children...that by rescuing these children from the streets they are saved from becoming debased and demoralised...by a steady perseverance in their system, the breed of gutter prowlers must become extinct (Greenwood 1869:77-8)</p>	<p>The annual reports and campaign documents of the voluntary societies stress their own centrality in efforts to 'solve' homelessness. Apparently, without their work in counselling and residential provision, young people would drift wholesale into petty crime, prostitution and mental illness. That belief in their own importance is not borne out by this study. (Brandon 1980:192)</p>
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By contrast, Mario Borelli is candid about the effects of his educational programmes:

I used to think: give these boys a proper education and they'll be fine. And so they got a proper education. But what happened to them? they went back onto the streets. Some found work on the black economy others found nothing at all. (in Moorehead 1989:33).

There is little to be gained from proposing spurious, if well meant, arguments. Borelli projects the debate onto a level which precludes simplistic, unintegrated solutions, and which may prompt more lasting solutions.

Less problematic than highlighting achievements is the general argument that the spiral of impasses related to partial provision eventually came, in Europe, to present consistent educational provision as the only ultimate option. Random structures inevitably put a premium on downward mobility. To highlight the failings of existing state **and** NGO

projects, as effecting the pocket and peace of mind of core communities, may have more long-term value than presenting their virtues.

The overall situation is compounded by the fact that certain groups have a vested interest in maintaining and manipulating a degree of individual confusion. Police who are bribed to ignore street vending have nothing to be gained from advising how a trading licence might be obtained. The manufacturers and distributors of soft-drinks will be as supportive of dental-care education as drug dealers will be of drugs education. Additionally, exclusivity is a very real survival strategy in poor countries. This might be in the form of using private education as a guarantee of a government job, or represented by older prostitutes withholding the knowledge that clients will pay for masturbation, from younger rivals.

However subtle, presenting purpose in terms of a treatment of the symptoms of urban chaos remains an unpredictable exercise. Presenting a picture of a general disordering process, its scale and commensurate urgency, rather than highlighting the intermediaries within that process such as those on the streets, may be more beneficial. To point out that Population Education will have little general effect if large numbers are excluded from schools, is a strong argument in countries such as India. The least problematic route to allying those with the possibility of supporting or frustrating provision may be to make minimal mention of "the problem of street children".



Those specifically working with children outside mainstream schooling clearly find purpose in their actions. Previously this has been expressed as religious requirement, and more recently in terms of social justice and permitting the individual child self-fulfilment. The problem is that this form of motivation is less evident, and harder to replicate on a general scale at a range of executant levels. There would be far fewer children outside the educational process if this were not the case.

Bill MacCurtain from South Africa is candid concerning the personal motivation of those who chose to work with projects.

[The children] may appear to be the answer to emotional needs within those of us who have difficulty in forming healthy reciprocal relationships and have a compulsive urge to possess people in one way or another. Others of us may have the need...to feel relevant, wanted and praised, and seek through our work for the street child the satisfaction of that need. Other needs...range from sentimentality through the channelling of anger to the prospect of material gain (1988:8).

Curiosity, vicarious excitement, or the absence of alternative skills could be added. This form of purpose need not detract from the value of localised endeavour, but it is not practicable nor probably desirable on a national level. It also underlies the inherent upward mobility of charitable endeavour, because practitioners discourage children who do not readily sustain their personal *raison d'être*. School teachers who measure success in terms of "good" pupils pose a similar problem. Unfortunately the charitable ethos only

provides a limited answer to the question of a Ministry of Education attempting to motivate teachers who already tend to treat with disdain those who do not meet their particular view of a model pupil.

Executants require a sense of urgency that is usually only associated with revolutionary movements. Although those working with NGOs display this zeal, their income is usually adequate or of secondary importance. How can this relate to state teachers with classes of sixty, awaiting delayed salary cheques that, on arrival, may only cover a tenth of their domestic bills?

Addressing ecological environmentalism has become a cause within classrooms of the rich nations. Is it possible to engender a sense of purpose concerning social environmentalism? The discussion of purpose within teacher training establishments could well be focussed in this manner. A very simple presentation of the entropy argument can provide a basis for appropriate discussion without excluding other perspectives, adding to existing courses, or proposing the need to extend already cluttered school time-tables.

1. Agree and instance the existence of urban disorder, including detrimental street use.
2. Relate this to an entropic process, i.e. that it appears inherent because of asynchronous change, but that its speed can be reduced or increased by human behaviour.
3. Consider how education might precipitate the process, e.g. through school exclusion.

4. Discuss the nature and necessity of counteraction and social coherence.
5. How should education relate to this?
6. What does this mean in practical terms: school structures, classroom attitudes, the integration of 'assumed adults', and the approach to teaching specific school subjects?

A sense of purpose increases personal status which might compensate for inadequate financial reward and demoralising work conditions.

#### The PARENTS (9.3.)

Most children using the streets are not totally estranged from their families. Parents are not a less significant determinate of school attendance than in other sectors of the population. Until recently it has been assumed that, if economic constraints permit, parents will display what Cameron & Hurst described as 'an almost pathetic faith [in education's] efficacy to solve their problems and promote their prosperity.' (1983:11). However, the link between schooling and an improved life-chance is becoming tenuous and family priorities are changing as routes to upward mobility in the informal sector appear more tangible than via schools.

The idea that non-attendance stems from the poorest parents requiring children to work might be simplistic. In 1909 a government examination of the 'half-time' system accommodating working children concluded surprisingly: 'The

employment of half timers bears no relation to the poverty statistics. There is even a tendency for half-time to increase as poverty decreases' (in Gibb 1911:96). In the present-day it is assumed, perhaps wrongly, that working children are from families in greatest need. Research in a some countries 'indicates that the poor quality of schooling could be a more important contributory factor in desertion', than the need for income. Judith Ennew detected that in Lima, children from poor districts will commute to better schools in other areas, working there after school and returning home late each evening (in Boyden 1988b.:15;16). Individual family perceptions and priorities may be a far greater determinates than measurable or declared poverty.

If employment arguments are elusive there would seem to be two alternative motivating factors. Firstly, the truism quoted by countless parents: "It keeps them off the streets". This might be developed more subtly to suggest that children require authoritative teaching as to how to avoid the threat of disordering influences. Parents are likely to see the sense of ensuring that a child remains capable of employment even if a job is not a certainty. Secondly, if children are encouraged to educate others in their family and are taught in a manner which encourages this, the benefits to parents become more direct. Margaret Mead proposed the importance of prefigurative socialisation in a rapidly changing world (1970). Rural-urban immigrant parents may find this aspect especially relevant.

Because of the mistaken notion that those on the streets are largely estranged from families, presenting the purpose of education to parents seems a neglected aspect of the work of many NGOs. State schools do not appear to have a noticeably better record. With changing parental attitudes this may need to represent a fundamental part of the work of schools and projects in the future. In some countries with an impressive record of educational expansion such as Kenya, this is seen to have been 'demand driven' (Colletta & Sutton 1988:9). The creation of parental demand is therefore a worthwhile objective.

#### The CHILDREN (9.4.)

Within the ideal of a non-excluding school must be the reality of the self-excluding pupil. There is little thought given to discussing with young people why they need be educated. Rarely is there a comment such as that from **Bosconia - La Florida**: 'they have to learn first of all to want to learn' (Inter-NGO 1984:11). Motivation is usually a matter of trust in the adult view, and so for those who exist on the streets the question is more pertinent. Identifying purpose with the children concerned is crucial, otherwise they can frustrate the most perfect of plans.

If asked, the children usually provide a single reason for schooling, "To get a good job." Projects that directly link education to present or potential employment enjoy more success than those that do not, but if work is the only

motivation, education often need go no further than developing physique and inculcating subservience. In the contemporary context of structural unemployment, the connection between educational attainment and a job is becoming far from self-evident. A Spanish child who has been cleaning car windscreens since he left school at 12 states lucidly:

"It's just not worth going. I didn't learn anything there, and it's not going to get me a proper job. Anyway there aren't any that pay much better than this" (Muir 1989:20).

The argument is perfectly rational. For those living on a day-to-day basis, deferred gratification can be an elusive, inadequate and non-productive concept. Above subsistence level, freedom and social interaction are probably greater determinates of the desire for personal development than the chance to exchange one exiguous income for the unverifiable promise of another.

A crude juxtaposition of two pieces of data from Cape Town can be seen to suggest that there is little purpose in any form of schooling. It is known that adult vagrants are generally **not** the progeny of the young **strollers** (Schärf 1986:282); another study concludes that 'workseekers with **no** education are significantly more likely to find a job than their counterparts with a high school education' (Bundy 1986:54). If this reflects young people's perceptions, any relationship between schooling, supposed long-term vagrancy and employment will have to be presented as more than notional.

Those on the streets would not deny the existence of disorder in their own lives and in the world around them, nor their exploitation. The demonstration of the desire to keep themselves alive, and to create rudimentary order, suggests that counteraction is a human instinct; in Buckminster Fuller's words, a fulfilment of life functioning. This can provide a key to the "why?" of personal development. The starting point for defining individual purpose can be to pose children a self-evident problem derived from the notion of urban entropy:

1. Your life and your world will crack up unless you do something to stop it.
2. What are you going to do about it?
3. How is education going to fit in?

On the personal level, reason can be constructed as a symbiosis of both short-term and long-term factors. For example a savings account answers the problem of immediate organisation (a central strategy since the 19th century); improved numeracy skills become the means to prevent disorganisation in the future. The whole can appear as a means of increasing personal control and therefore reducing exploitive manipulation.

Expecting individual children to find complete purpose through school activities that are restricted to personal betterment assumes that they are primarily self-centred, and is perhaps a projection of the materialist world of so-called success. To ask children to learn to read in order to teach

others requires little more teacher/pupil effort than if the endeavour were restricted to personal benefit. But the Child-to-child approach addresses not only the 'crack-up' of 'your life', but also of 'your world'. This provides greater purpose for learning process.

To entrust individuals with the additional task of creating coherence within their context of existence is to make a demand. To make demands of people is to attribute value to them and increased value equates with increased status. This also identifies purpose in a manner that is not at the expense of others through encouraging self-centred upward mobility.

#### CONCLUSION (9.5.)

Personal motivation probably derives more from heart than the head, and from the knowledge that education has always been viewed as part of remedial action. Intellectualised rationale seems inevitably inconclusive or contrived. The presentation of purpose is a different problem. It can have adverse, even dangerous consequences, yet it is a vital aspect of educating **about** street life if fewer children are to be excluded from one of the determinates of a tolerable lifestyle. Of greatest import is the realisation that all spheres of influence can share a consistent sense of purpose in terms of countering urban entropy. It is not inconceivable that a teacher, a police inspector, and a child could sit down and agree that redressing the chaos in their lives is a common objective.



The Green movement bases its politics on the presentation of "why?". This approach has only partially been related to social arguments, even the distributive justice debate relies more on rhetoric than explanation. Applying the environmentalist formula can be a useful exercise.

ECOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTALISM	SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTALISM
- Present the fact of increasing physical entropy as affecting everyone (e.g. global warming)	Highlight urban chaos and its consequences for all levels of society (e.g. crime, bureaucratic chaos, overpopulation)
- Show how daily life becomes at the expense of the ecological environment	Suggest how the life-style of some is at the expense of the overall social environment - if food is not generally available then involuntary crime is inevitable
- Portray the precipitation of the process and causal links e.g. cars	Disorder causes street existence which then involuntarily becomes a precipitant
- Depict the urgency	Demographic trends: urban projections; % children.
- Emphasise solutions, e.g. improved public transport	"These children have helped to build their own school"; not, "if they don't go to school they will become criminals"
- Present the problem as one that each individual can help solve	Describe co-operatives; individual success stories; participation, inductive education; a "revolutionary" ethos
- Place the issue on the political agenda in terms of available solutions rather than problems	State education as a major contributor to the counteractive process, how can this be extended?

The Green movement puts forward a simple reciprocity argument concerning the ecological environment: how we affect it affects us. Like global warming, aspects of urban chaos - crime, disease, bureaucratic corruption, overpopulation etc. - can be presented as ultimately effecting everyone. Paradoxically though, it has been easier to persuade people of cause and effect in relation to the greenhouse effect than in terms of urban disorder, yet this is based on blind belief - only a few scientists have access to any form of proof. The ecological/social analogy becomes problematic however, because social environmentalism brings in other variables: there is the possibility of attributing blame to the symptoms of the situation. Because of the dissemination of knowledge, the populace will not blame the "weather" for the greenhouse effect. How do we explain the necessity for educative action without depicting urban children as culpable for the chaos which causes their condition?

Purpose should be presented within broad perspectives, but with subtlty. Antientropic action can be proposed not only a means of survival but, reiterating Buckminster Fuller, a reason for survival. Power groups, executants, parents and children all contribute to an inescapable disordering process and can all be part of the survival of that process. This will only be successful if there is minimal exclusion from counteractive functioning. Those estranged will otherwise, of necessity contribute to, and eventually seek fulfilment in, disordering activities. A neutral existence seems rare.

## WHAT SHOULD BE THE OBJECTIVES and EVALUATION PROCESSES?

If broad purpose is recognised in terms of social environmentalism, objectives and evaluations need to reflect both this and specifics relating to the circumstances of street life. For centuries the attainment of functional literacy, numeracy and work related skills have been the central objectives in respect of unsupported children. But these are not specifically related to street existence, nor do they recognise the present period of perhaps irreversible change, in which structural unemployment appears to question the utility of standard aims and measures of success.

The LITERACY/NUMERACY ARGUMENT (10.1)

There are two aspects to the literacy argument: relevance to individuals, and relevance to society. For an individual, the overall process of becoming literate is broader than that of formal skill learning. Preliminary and ultimate circumstances are of equal import. Acquisition should be viewed in terms of: **need - skill learning - use**. Is there an immediate need for children on the streets to learn to read and write and can these skills be put to use? If not, motivation is likely to be superficial and any skills learned will quickly be lost if the opportunity for practice is absent. In a normal school setting **need** and **use** are to a large extent contrived, through

pressure to keep up with peers, exams, formal exercises, and integration with other subjects. This is usually reinforced at home. To what extent can this be achieved, even if seen to be desirable, in the learning environment of children using the streets?

Literacy skills are not impossible to develop during adulthood. The subsequent period during which these capabilities are utilised is often considered more crucial in terms of recidivism than the supposed necessity of learning when young. A boy who has lived on the streets may be more motivated to gain formal skills when eighteen if it contributes to a marital-style relationship or imminent job prospects, than in earlier years. Providing opportunities at the appropriate moment may be more relevant than learning to read and write for its own sake.

Concerning the development of society in general, there is also need to balance well-meaning arguments derived from notions of rights and social justice. In the wake of the mass literacy movements of the 1970s, Galtung countered popular euphoria with an element of realism: 'What would happen if the whole world became literate? Answer: not so very much, for the world is by and large structured in such a way that it is capable of absorbing the impact' (in Graff 1976: 267). There are many factors that must be considered before literacy is taken to be a panacea for social ills. Standard educational objectives have no proven record of facilitating the upward mobility of communities **as a whole**, but more usually the

betterment of some individuals at the expense of others. In contrast, non-literate skills have permitted so-called "primitive" societies a minimally disordering existence which many modern observers envy. The encouragement of a better quality of life need not unnecessarily reinforce an academic-based meritocracy, creating a "diploma diseased" society and a diploma motivated education. It is more individually and socially beneficial that bus drivers are not alcoholic than that they have matriculation certificates, and lessons concerning drinking do not necessary have to be imparted through books.

Literacy and numeracy should be seen as means, not ends. They are tools of learning and vehicles of communication, but not in every social context. If there is no immediate reason to acquire these skills and social circumstances cannot be changed, more relevant educational objectives must be sought.

#### OBJECTIVES within STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT (10.2.)

There has been a reasonable consensus as to what constitutes individual fulfilment beyond subsistence level. Working with vagrant children at the Hamburg **Rauhen-Haus**, Elihu Burritt talked of 'the faith that they could do something, be something, and own something' (in Carpenter 1851:337). Concerning 'The future of work' in contemporary Britain, Prof.Charles Handy proposes the ability to 'make something', 'mean something', and 'money' (BBC 1987c.). Constructive labour, acceptable status, and just material reward in

recognition of these, provide broadly accepted goals. Yet it is difficult to envisage realisation of these except in relation to some form of employment.

Future national development is likely to entail what American economists have dubbed "jobless growth" (Gorz 1989:27). The general view of educational options within this prognosis is lucidly portrayed by Watts.

	Focussing on society	Focussing on individuals
C H A N G E	<b>Social-change approach</b> To help students to see unemployment as a social phenomenon which can only be resolved by political and social change.	<b>Individual-change approach</b> To maximise students' chances of finding meaningful employment.
S T A T U S Q U O	<b>Social control approach</b> To reinforce students' motivation to seek work, and to make them feel that unemployment is a result of personal inadequacy	<b>Non-directive approach</b> To make students aware of the possibility of unemployment, and to help them to determine how to cope with it and use it positively.

**Fig. 28.     ALTERNATIVE AIMS RELATING to UNEMPLOYMENT**  
(Watts 1976:241)

This can be related to forms of provision that have been available to those using the streets.

Liberationist	NGO Skill training Co-operatives
State schools	Religious training Educ. for leisure "Domestic vocationalism"

Results do not provide grounds for overall optimism. The outcome of Liberationist ideals remains unproven and is probably unquantifiable. Well-skilled individuals are unemployed. Emphasising supposed personal inadequacy has failed to motivate the apparently idle. Religion appears a palliative, and education for leisure is an irrelevant concept in the poor nations. So-called "domestic vocationalism", fulfilment through running a home and family despite unemployment, seems a route to increasing the numbers of estranged children.

This standard distinction between individual and social objectives is perhaps conceptually misleading when attempting to find fresh angles concerning the education/unemployment impasse. Individual fulfilment and the requirements of society are, when related to employment, usually synonymous: productive individuals create a productive society. The division also overlooks the group dynamic, which is of considerable importance in the later industrialising countries in the form of extended families or constructed networks such as co-operatives.

If the counteraction of disorder is taken to provide a general sense of purpose, employment becomes one aspect rather than the central determinate of educational endeavour. This is not to dispense with the need for skill training, literacy and numeracy, but to see them more in relation to flow than as static goals: where are they leading in relation to social coherence? There are four facets of street existence, not

directly related to employment, that have informally been recognised as underlying other objectives of educational endeavour. Structural unemployment may frustrate ensuring that education is relevant, but it remains possible to ensure that education is not irrelevant.

- (i) Reduced or irregular adult contact, which proposes the need to compensate for inadequate **postfigurative socialisation**.
- (ii) Boredom, redressed through the development of a **non-disordering interest in life**.
- (iii) An ignorance of other social groups, due to marginalisation, which proposes the need to facilitate **social understandings**. This includes a knowledge of employment networks.
- (iv) The need to redress a "live for the minute" attitude through creating an awareness of consequences and developing a **predictive rationale**. This relates to all three of the above.

#### **Postfigurative socialisation (10.2.1.)**

Compensating for reduced formal and informal postfigurative socialisation is a logical although rarely stated necessity. Whilst positive peer influence should not be underestimated, nor a total absence of adult support assumed, it is important to consider that which children might not achieve amongst themselves.

The need for Health Education is probably the most significant aspect of adult unavailability. Children will



tolerate quite extreme ailments, particularly dental, simply because they are unaware that remedies are available and necessary. Random sexual activity is similarly related to irregular adult influence, and is accompanied by an absence of practical advice. This poses the threat of sexually transmitted diseases and more recently of HIV/AIDS. Even if the children attend a clinic, other problems arise when responsible adults are not available to reinforce what is learned. At a Mexico health centre: 'Most leave with literature and a few condoms which are often not put to their intended use. Aside from decorations, the little packets are also useful to pay policemen who frequently harass the vagrants for bribes.' (McGreal 1989:31).

The especial importance of Population Education also relates to the lack of responsible adult guidance during adolescence. This can be addressed in terms of the immediate consequences of producing children who quickly become unwanted, and later related to factual information concerning global population trends (see Bishop 1986:108). The saying, 'Children are poor men's riches' was common in 17th century England (Ribton-Turner 1887), and frequently cited as a reason for large families in the present-day. This needs to be discussed in the light of the expense of children in an urban setting. However, it should be remembered that sexual activity and parenthood are two of the few aspects of life in which the poor can achieve some form of parity with others.

A story from Brazil illustrates the ultimate effects of minimal adult support:

...twelve-year-old Teresa wandered barefoot into the hospital carrying a stinking bundle in her arms...They unwrapped the bundle and found a tiny, decomposing corpse. The baby was a month old: she had died of infections around her anus and her vagina. The acid of urine and faeces had corroded the flesh to such an extent that the bones stuck out..."She had never changed those filthy wrappings. Never once cleaned the child...When we told her it was dead she sobbed and had nervous convulsions...Four hours later she slipped out of the hospital and went back to the square" (di Robilant in Moorehead 1989:22).

Alone, Teresa did not have the knowledge to predict the outcome of her neglect. If adults are not available to teach about parenting, this task falls to formal education. Young people not being aware that the consequences of their actions will affect their offspring is not confined to the poor countries. The infant mortality rate in Washington city now compares with that of Argentina, Venezuela, Thailand and Paraguay because of the number of mothers addicted to crack (Litchfield 1989:8).

Home life permits numerous avenues of teaching and learning: household chores, errands, discussing relationships, and although rarely admitted - the TV. Many relevant objectives can therefore derive from a simple question: what might children not have learned because of reduced or irregular contact with adults?

#### A Non-disordering interest in life (10.2.2.)

Boredom is cited both informally and empirically as a cause of disordering behaviour. A survey in a British Approved School

found that boys considered, 'Boredom, nothing to do; need for fun, adventure, excitement, [and] "kicks"' a consistent reason for offending (HMSO 1961:109). Young people on London's streets attributed their drug use to being: "bored out of your bones...pissed or bored or upset...something to do when there's nothing to do - when there's no TV it gives you your own pictures." (BBC 1988i.). Children state that they attend the Salaam Baalak project in Bombay for, "Time pass", a phrase common amongst the city's underemployed youth. The question arises, what is different about the individual who is bored, as compared to the one who delights in having time available to pursue a particular interest? Both are experiencing spare time upon which there are no external demands. The difference stems from the latter having, for want of a better term, an interest in life: a constructive fusion of curiosity and passion, founded on some form of knowledge and an awareness of deferred gratification.

Those confronted with boredom do not necessarily acquiesce to the drabness of their condition, given other options. Mary Carpenter reports of a child who would go eighteen hours without bread, '"though I could spend sixpence to go to the theatre."' (1850:48). Jill Swart cites a ten-year-old in Johannesburg who 'spent his evenings begging from cinema-goers...and his days reading in parks. His priority purchases were always books and he had five packets of them when I first met him.' (1987a.:7). The French actor Gérard Depardieu, who spent his teens on the streets, states, 'More

than anything, I was motivated by the fear of boredom...I was just somebody who needed to get away...I needed some new horizons.' (Uféras 1989:44). As a consequence peer group dynamics can prevail. Thrasher describes the process in **The Gang**: 'the imaginative boy has an excellent chance to become leader of the gang. He has the power to make things interesting for them. He "thinks up things for us to do."' (in Goodman 1960:45).

Reports concerning Victorian street gambling and contemporary so-called "addiction" to machine gambling depict a common process, boredom - detrimental influence - related criminality.

**Society for Investigating the causes of the alarming increase of Juvenile delinquency in the Metropolis.** (Report - 1816)

...many a deluded youth has been ruined, who was first incited to gamble on the streets from want of an industrious occupation.

He falls in with those gambling on the streets and becomes contaminated.

...he graduates from petty pilfering to experienced thieving, until he is put in prison.

(in Pinchbeck & Hewitt 1969:436)

**The use of amusement arcades and gambling machines: a national survey.** (1988)

"Something to do when there is nothing else to do"

...vulnerable because people who might exploit or abuse children could use arcades as a place to pick up children.

...the desire for money to play the machines might lead children to steal or to obtain money by other

undesirable methods. (NHTPC 1988:1)

Superficially, many activities that become compulsive appear to be those that require minimal intellectual investment, long-term thinking, or acceptance of deferred gratification.

Responses have often been an uncomplicated reaction to this situation.

[the need] to open their minds by such general instruction as shall rouse the intellect, and make them capable of finding pleasure in innocent and enobling amusements.' (Cornwallis 1851:118).

Most [young] people offend because of boredom and for kicks. We therefore try to broaden their experience of exciting, interesting but legitimate activities. (The Shaftesbury Society 1989 publicity brochure)

Charles Forss developed the notion of stimulating intellectual interest directly in respect of questionable activities: 'a select lending library is desirable...which would do much to check the prevailing propensity for cards and other gambling amusements,' (1835:11). At the present time alternative activities such as more sophisticated home-computer software, are being considered for young people with a gambling compulsion. 'Distraction' is a central objective of education in relation to the misuse of drugs, although this implies something more temporary than a long-term interest. Mary Carpenter decided to manipulate rather than extinguish existing behaviour; to build on the desire for activity.

The passion for amusement among this class has not yet been sufficiently taken into account in their education...It is useless to attempt to stifle this feeling; but the judicious friend of the children will endeavour to turn it into the right channel (1850:48).

There has been recognisable agreement that intellectual development, even if unrelated to employment, can lessen the possibility of disordering outcomes associated with boredom. Superficially this might appear a palliative, but the consequences of boredom threaten social harmony in a manner

which is discernible from protest. More positively, these strategies counter self-disordering behaviour which mitigates against the possibility of an individual finding employment. They also contribute to national development through countering destructive social dynamics which impede and distract resources from urban improvement.

### Social understandings (10.2.3.)

The understanding of other social groups, judgement founded on reason and knowledge rather than prejudice, is fundamental to coherent human interaction. On a global level, in the form of internationalism, the idea was central to UNESCO'S approach to war-vagrant children. Contemporary Development Education perpetuates the UNESCO ideal. Multi-cultural Education in Europe and America reflects a similar goal and provides a wealth of teaching strategies. Northern Ireland's ten Integrated Schools have endeavoured for 10 years to achieve 'Education for Mutual Understanding' between Catholic and Protestant children. Presenting a balanced view of history is central to their work. More specifically the this approach can relate to the development of a knowledge of employment networks. The frustration of social understandings is an aspect of the marginalised existence of those on the streets, which clearly provides an objective for education.

The encouragement of an unprejudiced awareness of others proceeds from an examination of existing knowledge, which can be analysed within simple models in terms of pairs, or more complex groupings (Fig.29). This proposes the need for

Fig. 29.

Examples of SOCIAL UNDERSTANDING MODELS

Pairs:

Male	?	Female
Children	?	Adults
Young children	?	Older children
Street children	?	Non-street children
Dominant race	?	Minority races
Adults from street child's home community	?	Adults from host community
Academically skilled	?	Manually skilled

More complex relationships:

Young male street children	?	Young female street children
?	?	?
Older male street children	?	Older female street children

These juxtapositions can give rise to the following questions as part of staff or class discussions:

- (i) What is the level of understanding between entities?
- (ii) Is it necessary to find out more about that relationship?
- (iii) Would an action, on balance, increase or diminish understanding?
- (iv) Is some form of education necessary to permit better understanding.

research if it is not known how entities view one another. An educational objective is then determined if there is inadequate knowledge, one group of another, upon which to make judgements. The development of vocabulary is often necessary before understandings are broadened: although children may well be aware of the nature of "exploitation", they may lack the language to express this.

Knowledge about others, however, often represents a survival strategy for those using the streets. It might not be shared readily. The process will only be successful if the fruits are seen to benefit a whole group, which entails a development of **corporate** understandings. If a group of boys were to offer to take over the pimping for local girl prostitutes, how would they view it? How might existing pimps react, and would the corporate benefits of an alliance between girls and boys outweigh negative consequences? Would the arrangement be to the general benefit or are there other options which might be less exploitative of one group?

Urban disorganisation can be seen to create an environment in which employment networks do not function effectively. Whilst the poor complain of the absence of work, the élite often grumble about the difficulty of finding good staff. This is not only due to potential employees being unaware of available jobs. In the present climate of violence job opportunities are sometimes not made available because of a fear of the consequences. Many middle-class householders in third world countries now prefer to buy a washing machine



because it is less risky than employing a maid who might provide an entrée for burglars. Improved understandings can contribute to a more fluid employment environment and encourage the wealthy to spend on human services. A letter from a project or school which is respected because it has presented a positive image of its students, attesting to a young person's reliable character, can be more effective than an anonymous school leaving certificate.

Social understanding also encompasses the development of critical awareness, which includes challenging the political causes of unemployment. But unlike Freirian objectives, this emphasises the need also to educate power groups. A "Pedagogy of the oppressed" only represents half an educational objective; there is also need for a pedagogy of the oppressor.

Revised definitions of relative poverty relate to an individual's ability to participate fully in the life of the general community. Improving social understandings contributes towards the possibility of participation, irrespective of prevailing economic inequity.

#### **Predictive rationale (10.2.4.)**

Children on the streets inevitably develop a "live for the minute" outlook based on short-term survival needs. The situation is often compounded by solvent use which diminishes the ability to concentrate. Within the three previous objectives the development of a predictive rationale, long-term thinking, can provide a common focus for teaching.

In normal family life children are encouraged to "look forward" to birthdays, festivals, visits and other events as a matter of course. An ability to consider the future cannot exist without the necessary language. Basic future vocabulary is usually acquired through family life: a form of development is denied those who have reduced home contact. Concentration is a prerequisite of employability, and requires the development of the ability to "stick at something". This also usually derives from parental direction. Inadequate postfigurative socialisation is directly related to the absence of long-term thinking and concentration in children.

Most health education revolves around an awareness of consequences and, as the story of Teresa relates, this also affects possible future generations. Education concerning drugs stresses usually health consequences in a factual manner, although this approach may be inappropriate. Young people with a short-term view are less motivated by hypothetical health repercussions than by immediate gratification. An alternative is to utilise another characteristic of those concerned: the value of freedom and self-determination. To teach about consequences in respect of power relationships, future exploitation and manipulation, may be more congruous and therefore effective. Some drugs outreach workers ask young people who formerly used drugs to educate others about consequences: their experiences are vivid and far from theoretical. Dr Patricia Uribe of Mexico indicates the subtlety necessary to teach about probable outcomes concerning

HIV/AIDS: 'If I tell them they are going to die, it makes no difference. If I tell them how they are going to die, sometimes they take notice.' (McGreal 1989:31).

Cornwallis formed a conclusion in 1851 which could come from a contemporary article on crime or drugs education.

...the children are not taught what the dangers are which lie around them, not the reason why they are dangers: no one tells them that these so-called pleasant vices are but the first steps towards crime, poverty, and disease (p119).

He specifically includes the development of predictive thinking as a counter for detrimental pursuits, 'by giving a capability for future thought; by awakening curiosity, and shewing that amusement and learning are compatible.' (1851:123). Non-pathological crime is essentially employment with detrimental personal and social consequences. Those demonstrating reduced contact with responsible adults are less likely to be reminded of the known outcomes of what appear to be rational survival strategies. Corrective endeavour, particularly in the form of discussing personal constructs, has addressed the fact that a deviancy is viewed as a young person's predictive rationale being at variance with the social norm. However, the approach can have limited utility: often predictive reason suggests that a criminal future **is** the best possible option.

The development of predictive reasoning has also been an aspect of lessening the attractions of street life as part of preventive work in schools. Less frequently, but of equal import, the approach can be used with parents. It is assumed

that adults are aware of the consequences of street use, but this may not always be the case, particularly for rural - urban immigrants. The topic, "leaving home" can provide a basis for discussing futures with both young people and their parents. The best teachers are those who have themselves experienced problems of homelessness, and exploitation.

A useful starting point for the development of long-term thinking is simply to ask children to draw themselves at a future time e.g. "Me when I'm twenty-five." This immediately raises questions about the means of achievement and the possible pitfalls along the way. The crucial aspect of developing predictive faculties is that long-term reward must be linked to that in the short-term. A child will not give up smoking to avoid eventual cancer, but may be attracted by calculating an immediate financial gain enabling the purchase of a desired object next week.

Prediction, but not prejudice, facilitates self-determination, the avoidance of exploitation, and is a survival strategy that is repressed in many children on the streets. In a highly disordered environment it becomes more difficult, and therefore more relevant as an educational goal.

These four foci for educational work, derive directly from the life-style of children who exist on the streets, and are equally applicable to literacy or non-literacy based teaching. They might be reflected in story telling or songs, essay writing or the production of text books, language learning or

maths. The objectives all relate to improving the job prospects of an individual, but have equal value in relation to countering individual and social disorder irrespective of prevailing employment opportunities.

### EVALUATION (10.3.)

Any educational strategy in relation to street existence is notoriously difficult to evaluate. Too frequently the subjects of the process disappear before any standard assessment of effectiveness is possible. This deficiency has been seen to entail direct consequences. Governments favour more formalised approaches, especially institutional, simply because they are more tangible. Ongoing funding from the state or through international AID is difficult to obtain without evidence of outcome. To gain credibility, successful initiatives might regress to being results orientated in a manner which probably causes rather than reduces the exclusion of children. Assessment then concentrates on practice and process rather than effectiveness, and initiatives come to be assessed through the quality of their rhetoric.

Conversely, the need for evaluation can be overstated. Some of the most notable approaches have been justified without tangible results: liberationist; AIDS, drugs, and anti-crime education; saving souls through evangelism; UNESCO's goal of international harmony. In these instances evaluation has been a matter of matching objectives to desired

rather than actual outcome. Paradoxically, the justification for a particular approach can be enhanced through emphasising what is effectively a failure of the educational initiative to achieve its ends: we need more drugs education in part because drugs education has been unsuccessful.

More specifically, how many governments usefully evaluate state education? Do schools know how many of their students have a job or have avoided crime one year after leaving? Apart from fictitious attendance figures and questionable exam results, little more is generally known about the effectiveness of mainstream schooling than that in the NGO sector. Albeit excusable, the result is that schooling comes to be seen by those in its employ as an unquestionable objective in itself. This ultimately undermines its perceived utility to other interested parties. Some form of credible evaluation is clearly necessary.

The most relevant contemporary attempt has emerged from the Brazilian Alternative Service Programs on Street Children (ASPoSC) (Firme et al s.a.). The indicators are consummate and emphasise the difference between the expectations of NGOs and formal schooling (Fig.30). In 1851 Cornwallis' 'causes of success' similarly omit direct reference to standard academic achievement and skill acquisition.

1. The preaching the gospel in its simplicity, unincumbered with abstract dogmata...
2. The exemplification in the manners of the teachers of that law of love; thus winning the hearts of the scholars, and showing that what they teach to others they themselves believe also.
3. The satisfying the intellect, as fast as it develops itself, no less than the instinctive affections; and thus engaging the **whole** man in the right course (1851:85).

**Fig. 30.**

**EVALUATION INDICATORS (ASPoSC)**

**SOCIAL SKILLS**

Democratic participation  
Exercise of right & duties (organisational abilities)  
Solidarity with one's own class  
Constructive use of leadership  
Cooperation  
Consideration of others  
Resolving problems without violence  
Interpersonal relationship  
Political awareness  
Responsibility towards family  
Responsibility towards society  
Proper use of time  
Use of community services and information  
Appreciation of Order

**CAREER SKILLS**

Job seeking	Efficient use of earnings
Persistence in the job	Financial self-sufficiency
Valuation of work	Honesty at work
Career improvement	
Initiative for work	
Diligence	
Responsibility on the job	
Technical competence	
Acquisition of earnings	

**INDIVIDUAL GROWTH**

Self-esteem	
Self-confidence	
Ability for communication and self expression	
Realistic aspirations	
Motivation for survival (will to live)	
Artistic and cultural expression	
Acquisition of basic skills and knowledge	
Creativity	
Critical thinking	
Health improvement	Motivation to study
Valuation of health	Affectiveness

**MORAL VALUES**

Spirituality	Non-violence
Humanitarian spirit	Sense of Justice
Trust in others (faith, hope)	Condemning of drugs
Respect for sexuality	
Respect for other people's property	
Identification with positive models	
Appreciation of the program	

(Firme et al s.a.:42)

The ASPoSC process is very complex, however, and it seems unlikely to be broadly applicable without the direct involvement of those who devised it. Arriving at ratings and percentage scores from criteria such as 'non-verbal clues', the use of puppets and drawings, or measuring effect in terms of 'marked' or 'some sight', is unlikely to facilitate clear comparisons on a general scale. To present results of such qualitative judgement in finite terms could well fuel self-deception. The process is also very time-consuming, being dependent on long periods of observation and subtle interaction with the children. More generally, unless within a closed institution, how can the use of these indicators ensure that change is attributable to a deliberate process rather than external influence?

Beyond the basic input-output models, evaluative methodology has come to be seen as more "illuminative". This recognises a less formal interplay between context, related objectives, and outcome. As the latter is the least tangible aspect in respect of education and street existence, the relationship between objectives and context becomes more central than in other instances. This reflects recent trends which propose, according to Lawton, 'that traditional methods of evaluation had paid too little attention to the whole educational process in a particular milieu, and too much attention to those changes in student behaviour which could be measured' (in McCormick 1982:175). An assessment might usefully be focussed on the degree of congruity between the



educational process and the immediate environment.

The requirement is for simple central guidelines which can be constructively adapted in each particular circumstance, but which cannot be easily manipulated to defend inappropriate or ineffective actions that are not congruous with environment. Four aspects of accountability seem necessary, and these might be realized in the following manner.

1. **An evaluation must derive from understandable and accepted criteria.**

A broad statement of **general purpose** and **primary criteria**, representing congruity with the general environment, remain constant. These may be determined by a Ministry or other funding agency and are only changed after high level consideration. This gives rise to **secondary questions** relevant to context at a particular time and place, from which specific educational objectives are derived. These **secondary questions** are revised as part of the evaluative process, encouraging ownership of the evaluation by local entities, but always with reference to **primary criteria** and **general purpose**. (This is akin the development of a national legislature within an overall constitution.)

2. **Method and results should be lucid and easily explicable to third parties.**

From records of the development of **secondary questions** and issues arising from these, an external observer can constructively discuss the development of an educational

response, challenging significant diversions from primary criteria.

3. **It should be possible to use conclusions for comparative analysis.**

**General purpose** and **primary criteria** provide commonality within which to examine similarity variance of ideas and actions revealed through the development of **secondary questions**.

4. **An evaluation should constitute a learning process at all levels of involvement.**

The method becomes one of constantly redefining and addressing questions that are more congruous with the environment, which represents a continuing learning process. Questions can provide a framework for discussion between managers and practitioners, executants and community, or adults and children - this might take place regularly within the school timetable as part of the development of critical and predictive faculties.

A simple checklist can therefore form the basis of evaluation (Fig.31). In this example antientropic functioning represents general purpose and the four objectives identified previously (10.2.) are utilised, to continue the theme of the general discussion. Within this ethos, evaluation represents the means to encourage educational processes which are congruous with their urban environment, accommodate the nature of the existence of their students, and lead individuals towards circumstances of minimum personal disorder and maximum

GENERAL PURPOSE: To be counteractive to urban entropy, and to permit individuals to be part of that process.

PRIMARY CRITERIA (Constant)	SECONDARY QUESTIONS (Continually revised as part of evaluation)	
	Is the school/project:	Are the children able to predict the possible positive and negative consequences of:
Postfigurative socialisation	<p>providing 'sanctuary' - human and spatial constants? unifying or dividing families? accommodating 'assumed adult' status?</p> <p>providing 'alternative support' and access to welfare services?</p>	<p>estrangement from others? self-abuse through drugs, solvents alcohol etc.? an absence of physical/human constants?</p> <p>neglecting hygiene, health-care? attending hospitals and health centres?</p>
A non-disordering interest in life	<p>minimising corruptive influence, or functioning as a "school of crime"?</p> <p>encouraging or discouraging alternative interests? countering or precipitating degenerative estrangement?</p> <p>encouraging and demonstrating reasoned judgements of 'good' and 'bad', or perpetuating petty moral values?</p>	<p>adult and peer influences, power relations, degenerative spirals?</p> <p>voluntary crime; wanton violence?</p> <p>'good', 'bad' and exploitive actions by selves and others?</p>
Social understandings	<p>providing a 'bridge' between, or isolating separate social groups? supporting or undermining existing beneficial social networks? encouraging 'inductive' or 'reductive' strategies?</p> <p>operating 'non-excluding' practices? integrated within the local community? developing outreach strategies? changing elitist attitudes?</p> <p>learning from the children? encouraging parental and community awareness of its activities? acting as a source of current, relevant knowledge? developing self-reliance or dependency?</p>	<p>co-operative activity? using available employment networks? budgeting and saving? planned use of time? improved literacy; numeracy; other skills?</p> <p>exploitive influence? the problems of others? political activism?</p> <p>voicing their own opinions? personal and political decisions? untried actions?</p>

potential to contribute to counteractive functioning. Standard school subjects are therefore seen in terms of flow: they are means to achieving congruity with the local environment. The evaluation of literacy and numeracy is reflected in the success at achieving this end, rather than in viewing standard skills as ends in themselves.

**WHERE and WHEN DOES EDUCATION HAPPEN?:**

**PHYSICAL SPACE, TEMPORAL SPACE,  
and ORGANISATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE**

The practical implementation of objectives concerns two aspects of educational provision: educational structures that do not exclude children because of their circumstances, and teaching approaches that are appropriate to needs and background. The latter is dependent upon the former and it is therefore logical to examine the "where" and "when" of schooling prior to identifying teaching strategies.

Lessons mostly derive from charities, NGOs and small-scale government projects. These have been able, more readily, to adapt to local circumstances and demonstrate the requirements for schools in a disorganised environment. The problem is to view these in a manner that can be seen as applicable on a broader scale, which almost certainly means within state systems. When talking on a general, global level specific detail would be inappropriate. Even terms such as 'classroom' may be redundant in many circumstances. It is, however, possible to view the basic components spatially in a manner which is equally applicable to small initiatives or national systems in any urban location.

The word 'school' originally meant a period of leisure for disputation or learning. 'Leisure' represented a physical

and temporal space, sustained by the labour of others, to permit a deliberate process of intellectual development. The concept was presented, concerning Europe's war-vagrant children, in a manner which emphasised the importance of viewing pedagogy within a particular environment.

...education ceases to be merely the art of teaching: the concept is broadened and becomes the aid which environment can give to the psychological growth of a human being, to enable him to develop a full and original personality, normal in himself and in his relations with society (UNESCO 1950:439).

The notion becomes concrete in consideration of Night Schools, Mary Carpenter's Feeding Schools, the provision of health-care, washing facilities, and the other environmental aids which have attempted to create a period of 'leisure' within the lives of children working and living on the streets.

Unlike the historical literature, contemporary writers emphasise spatial considerations. The FUNABEM/UNICEF report suggests, 'Street children need spaces in which they can assert their own interests and shape their own lives', and talks of projects 'providing a compensatory space for healthy personal development' (1988a.:8,16). Bill Myers concludes, 'They need spaces in which to be able to assert their own interests and shape their own lives, both in work and in other areas of their lives.' (s.a.:19). In an overcrowded world the need to create spatial constants becomes more urgent.

Albeit unfashionable to support notions of "school", in its original sense the word is therefore extremely apt when talking of children who experience the pressures of an assumed

adult life. Remembering also that the etymology of 'pupil' is orphan, ward, or one who is under the care of a guardian, this too is not an inappropriate term. From a spatial perspective, creating a period of 'leisure' in the form of a 'school' has three aspects: the provision of physical space, temporal space, and the organisation of these.

#### PHYSICAL SPACE (11.1.)

The problem of obviating school exclusion hinges on the apparent contradiction of creating a place for education, within which educational attainment is not the principal criterion for acceptance and individual worth. For NGOs, answers have derived from viewing education as an aspect of 'school', rather than seeing 'school' solely as a vehicle for education. This entails the provision of overall sanctuary within which areas for directed learning are recognised, rather than an institution exclusively for formal learning inside which children are frequently seeking elusive sanctuary in order to escape its pressures.

A broad analysis of spatial use related to education and street existence suggests three facets.

- (i) Overall, an area of **supervised activities** providing sanctuary and alternative support (including accommodation if appropriate), into which children are unconditionally admitted provided their freedom does not affect freedom of others. This might be a yard, hall, recreation area, drop-in centre, coffee shop, etc.

(ii) Within this, an area of **directed activities**, which permits formal learning activities by mutual "contracted" agreement between pupils and teachers.

(iii) This whole relates to the **external environment**: outreach and integrative strategies that create bridges between school existence and the immediate community, and makes use of the locality as a teaching resource.

The concept is reflected in a range of contexts, from purpose built campuses to pieces of wasteland. Even depictions of John Pound's cobbler's shop suggest these three aspects: numerous children at ease chatting, playing games or doing manual chores (supervised activities); a few receiving instruction in a corner (directed activities); whilst his outreach with a hot potato bridged this to the streets beyond (external environment). This type of organisation is also evident from numerous prints of Ragged Schools. Current NGO projects demonstrate these components in the form of courtyards and drop-in centres, formal classrooms, and mobile soup kitchens and street educators. Often, however, there is no fluid relationship between these. They represent separate, one-way stages of a programme which often exclude children en route.

This concept of overall, unconditional sanctuary is the reverse of European-style school whereby children are contained for supposedly educational activities, and occasionally "let out" into supervised areas. It does however reflect the way in which some less formal primary school



teachers organise their classrooms to facilitate individual learning programmes.

### Supervised activities: sanctuary (11.1.1)

The schoolhouse should be counted a sanctuary against fear (Roger Ascham, **The Schoolmaster**, 1570).

"I would make a leisure street for children to play in - one without cars. I would have a football and a basketball area - a sports ground. I would have proper health care." (Brazilian street child in Chisholm 1989:224).

It is rarely considered that the school playground had to be invented, and that originally its purpose was seen as more than that of an exercise yard. The government inspector Joseph Kay complained in 1846:

For even where there are schools in the town, there are scarcely ever any playgrounds annexed to them; so that the hours of recreation the poor little children are turned out into the streets...It is strange that we do not understand how invaluable the refuge is, which a school **and playground** afford to the children of the poor, however indifferent the education given in the school (p5).

Mary Carpenter, from the perspective of educating those of the 'perishing and dangerous classes', reached the same conclusion suggesting that, 'A small play-ground would be found a valuable accessory to the school-room, where the children might spend their play hours, instead of unlearning in the streets what they have been gaining in school time (1850:46).

However, the original concept was quickly lost. By the start of this century Marion Phillips commented in **The School as a Means of Social Betterment** that, 'The playground should not only be made more efficient but it should be more used. It

should not be locked up on summer evenings and on holidays whilst the children play in the neighbouring gutters.' (1912:14). Kay's concept of 'refuge' from the streets had been forgotten.

Another vestige of Victorian thinking, municipal playgrounds, also operated in a different way initially. These were not desolate areas ruled by teenage gangs. They were well fenced areas, supervised by a swing lady who would keep a watchful eye on the children and bandage knees whilst exchanging gossip with passing adults. The former site of Coram's Foundling Hospital in London is a remaining example of this ideal, funded by the original Coram trust. A notice at the entrance reads: "No unaccompanied adults."

Mary Carpenter explains the necessity of informal adult-child interaction with children of the 'perishing' classes:

[The teacher] must endeavour to gain a hold in the children's **hearts**, to make them **feel** that they are no longer aliens and outcasts...this must be done not by formal lessons, but through the medium of daily intercourse, in all "the patience of hope and the labour of love." (1857:331).

Cornwallis saw the sanctuary aspect of a school as more specifically providing the alternative support needed by those using the streets: 'Supply them with the necessaries of life, a bed to lie on, water to cleanse themselves, a fire, and a clean place to sit down in, good conversation, and interesting books' (1851:62). With the addition of medical provision, he describes strategies used by numerous NGOs to create initial relationships with alienated children.

Forms of segregation are contrary to the objective of social coherence. Separation according to sex is perhaps the most pertinent issue. Even in the 19th century many institutions permitted co-existence. Of one in Switzerland Fletcher reported, 'one might dread its giving rise to some inconveniences', but with 'necessary precautions' the system was seen to espouse benefits, not least 'a judicious distribution of labour, as best suited to the capacities of either sex.' (1852:10). Yet many contemporary NGOs, for example **Bosconia-La Florida**, maintain single-sex provision. The fear of hypersexuality due to street existence can be unfounded. In his study **Street Children of Cali**, Aptekar indicates the contrary, that some children need to be pushed into heterosexual relationships (1988:207). Even in Islamic countries the spatial relationships proposed could accommodate an area which permitted supervised co-existence, within which single sex tuition was provided according to tradition. Mosque architecture itself provides the rationale: courtyards permit females and males to mix, even though prayers and instruction are segregated.

The utility of a supervised space goes beyond sanctuary and play. Much as informal learning takes place on the streets through peer interaction; this can happen to an enhanced degree in a protected area. Dice, counting games, board games and general discourse are facilitated through the removal of other threats and distractions, rather than by specific organisation. More formalised Child-to-child work becomes

possible if there is a safe place for this to happen. The provision of areas for private study or the pursuit of crafts can complement directed learning. For those who live mainly on the streets or come from overcrowded shanty accommodation, the possibility of somewhere to safely store a few private belongings is a great incentive to attend a school. It is also valuable for children to learn how to regulate their own time: to overcome boredom and gain an interest in life without imposed tasks. Whilst the merits of protecting children from the perils of the outside world are obvious, there is also a degree to which the outside world appreciates being protected from children.

The idea of a general supervised area has one constraint: big schools are impracticable. The means to occupy large numbers of children en masse requires considerable expenditure on equipment and amenities. Large schools would therefore become demonstrably more expensive in this respect. This should be seen as a positive factor. The Inter-NGO programme on street children concluded from its survey of projects throughout the world: 'we now know that Small is Beautiful' (Inter-NGO 1984:2). Individual needs are more easily recognised with fewer pupils. It is greatly preferable to have numerous small schools that are within a few minutes walk of children's homes or working patches, and which are felt to be part of the home community. However, within the reality of existing state provision the idea of supervised and directed activities is equally applicable to classroom organisation.

### Directed activities: formal learning (11.1.2.)

A supervised area becomes the place for general activity, from which individuals "contract in" to periods of more formal, directed learning. This agreement may be for a single half-hour session with an individual whose concentration is minimal, or a year-long course of formal classroom lessons leading to a state exam. In some NGOs the "contract" is an actual document worked out with the individual concerned and signed by both parties. The need for rigid 'standards' or forms according to ability or age is reduced if the containment aspect of time-tabling is removed, and there is less pressure on teachers to make lessons a precise length for fear of disrupting a fixed routine. Directed activities do not need to be a pretence at teaching simply to occupy children. The time of those with more formal teaching skills is therefore less taken up with childminding and discipline, and the result is more cost-effective teaching.

The major benefit of a fluid relationship between supervised and directed activities is that teacher-pupil contact time can be determined by what is necessary for tuition, and groups can be of a size appropriate to circumstances. This is precisely what the Mettray Colonie Agricole could achieve. Within a structured fifteen-hour day, only one hour was set aside for formal education, but this was with nine pupils receiving 'individual and personal' tuition (TPS 1846:22). This group size is echoed at special street school in Sao Paulo where it was considered necessary to have

one teacher for every seven pupils (UNICEF 1987b.:17). The 'street-wise' project in South Africa found that for children coming from the streets with a disrupted schooling, individual attention in the early weeks was imperative to assess and consolidate previous attainment. If seen as prestigious, progression to larger groups when appropriate is not unwelcome. Within this organisational framework regular classes of thirty, individual tuition, or spontaneous mass meetings can be co-ordinated without the problem of what to do with those who do not wish to partake.

There is no precise distinction between activities that require direction rather than supervision. The former tend to represent traditional lessons and a core curriculum, but might also include music, drama or organised sport if group constants are a requisite of the activity. Supervised activities are likely to be those which can be pursued intermittently and therefore be interrupted for directed sessions without destroying the purpose and continuity of the pursuit: art, crafts, reading, private study, spontaneous sports, talking and exchanging news - or doing nothing.

**The external environment: outreach, integration,  
and the street as a learning resource (11.1.3.)**

UNESCO's vision of 'the aid which environment can give' to the learning process must extend beyond the confines of the school. There are three aspects of a school's relationship with its immediate environment: outreach, the integration of

pupils during and following formal schooling, and the use of the locality as an educational resource.

Outreach, whether benign or otherwise, has permeated the history of education in relation to street life. In the present-day, it is central to the work of most NGOs and yet is almost totally absent from state provision except in the form of truant officers. The UNICEF/FUNABEM report suggests that street educators should 'serve as a bridge to help link marginalised children to the concern and resources of society, including programmes for their benefit' (1988a.:9). With statistics suggesting that around a quarter of the world's urban children rely on some form of street existence, it is relevant, even if not at present practicable, for all city schools in the third world to consider this strategy.

Working on the streets represents an extension of sanctuary, albeit only temporary. A recipient of a cup of hot chocolate from the Covenant House van in New York summed up the effect: "You have no idea how good it feels just to sit here a few minutes, knowing I don't have to watch my back." (Cov.House pamphlet). In addition to deliberate street education, the provision of a protected space creates the possibility for an exchange of news between the children which might mean job possibilities, police activity and other crucial aspects of street wisdom.

Outreach also embraces educating adults about the problems of children. This includes amending misconceptions about street life, for example supposedly inherent drug

addiction and criminality or the myth that all girls on the streets are prostitutes, and teaching parents about the dangers of street influence.

Procedures which facilitate the eventual integration of children, whether it be through employment or other viable form, should arguably be the focus of all school planning. Apprenticeship and preparation for service were central to most past European endeavours, and these aspects are often dismissed as anachronistic without full consideration of what they represent. The importance of this was demonstrated by the London Bridewell which, in the mid 18th century, would give those who left 'ten pounds each, towards carrying on their respective trades' (Maitland 1765:981). This was an immense sum of money to provide a former miscreant the chance of an honest life (discharged prisoners in England at present receive £34). Similarly, to encourage rectitude, a Liverpool reformatory would give ten shillings to girls who returned with a marriage certificate or proof that they had stayed in the same domestic employment for a year (Rimmer 1986:46).

Whilst sanctuary and alternative support are self-justifiable in contemporary cities, directed activities can be rationalised only in so far as they complement the integration process. The concept of education for its own sake, however laudable, is a luxury under present circumstances. Too often educational structures are contrived in isolation, determined by little more than Western tradition, and integrative structures are seen as an appendage.



The use of the urban environment as an educational resource is a common sense approach, and has been well discussed by Ward and Fyson in **Streetwork: the exploding school** (1973). In the light of the many comments concerning the endearing street-wise wit of children on the streets, it is worth noting that they are essentially the result of true "environmental education". To take children from the streets into schools is often to diminish available environmental stimulation.

There is one parallel that specifically elucidates this concept of spatial relationships: the mosque. Within the sanctuary of the walls of the Suleymaniye in Istanbul, for instance, there were precisely the components that have been discussed. Buildings housed a soup kitchen, a hospital, special accommodation for orphans, niches for private study, and fountains for ablutions (now used with great enthusiasm by the children who at present work on the city's streets), whilst Koran schools permitted formal education. Outreach was the role of numerous itinerant holy men. In the present-day students pace up and down learning their texts, children play games or relax within the environs, and areas of directed religious activity are respected as such by all. For centuries Mosque architecture has demonstrated the physical requirements of providing 'leisure' for learning and alternative support for those who require it.

## TEMPORAL SPACE (11.2).

The use of time embraces two sources of human input. Firstly that of the pupils: when during their lives, in terms of daily routine and age, is it most appropriate to attend a school? Secondly, that of those who are directing or supervising activities.

### Pupils (11.2.1.)

Conclusions concerning the number of years of schooling necessary to consolidate basic skills fluctuate with fashion, although there is some consensus that four years is a critical figure (Bishop 1986:43). However, arguments are unconvincing, not least because no-one has quite defined what "schooling" is, nor made any distinction between those with unsupportive home environments and those enjoying constructive parental attention. This view also displays no consideration of those who cannot attend for a block period, and there is no recognition of the vital non-educational functions of a school. Policy decisions derived from relating years of attendance to the utility of schooling seem as questionable as relating the length of prison sentences to the curing of criminality.

Arguments are similarly problematic concerning the number of hours tuition each day. The NGO UCEP, in Bangladesh, doubles the achievement of state schools on two hours of daily tuition, whilst in Brazil some state schools accommodate children for three hours each day and apparently achieve very little. Charles Dickens considered it a 'proved fact' that

eighteen hours a week at a half-time school was of greater effect than thirty-six of standard provision (Collins 1963:82). But how can conclusions such as these take account of external influence? The effectiveness of a given period of literacy training will be determined significantly by the amount of reading and writing done **outside** this period. Working children may be reinforcing arithmetical or second language skills to a degree hardly possible within any school, yet may have no opportunity for practising handwriting. Again, relating time to outcome is a limited exercise which largely represents measuring the measurable as a means to ignore that which is crucial: what takes place within and around those hours of formal tuition.

In terms of a school recognising the use of physical space as discussed, planning based around a finite number of years or hours becomes virtually redundant. If it is agreed that most urban children between weaning and maturity will require the opportunity of alternative support provided within a supervised area, the amount of directed activity within that becomes a largely matter of what is possible, necessary, and appropriate according to local circumstances and individual needs. The possibility of reducing or increasing periods of formal tuition exists, but without detracting from the overall availability of support. There are no mandatory sentences.

Of greater importance than "how much?" is "when?". It is not only in the present-day that the labour demands on children have been a central determinate. Robert Raikes'

Sunday Schools originated only coincidentally within a religious ethos. His initial motivation was because, 'on a Sunday...the street is filled with these wretches, who, released on that day from employment, spend their time in noise and riot' (in Carpenter 1851:112). In 1857 Bunce produced a paper, 'On Feeding Schools and Evening Schools, the former as a means of prolonging and the latter as a means of resuming education' (in Hill 1857). This represented, in part, a recognition of the temporal economic implications of school attendance from the pupils' point of view.

In 1971 UNICEF reiterated the 19th century solution, concerning education in shanty towns: 'schools need to develop more flexible arrangements to accommodate adolescents who need to work...The availability of night school and part-time schools would make it possible for many slum youth to attend' (p38). Numerous NGOs acknowledge this need, but state schools are less flexible. In India, a pilot project at Pune which provides evening schooling finds that the structure is favoured not only by the visible working children, but also by girls who can attend after their household labours (Naik in Kelly & Elliot 1982:169). This strategy immediately provides a mutual basis for social understanding between two groups who share a common problem in terms of labour, yet would normally not meet because of their street/non-street work environments.

For some working children it may be necessary to recognise that intensive tuition will only be possible after an individual has outgrown occupations which exploit a

childlike appearance such as begging. The point at which primary schooling should start for those who support their elders through prostitution, may be at the age of sixteen or twenty when their bodies are no longer saleable.

Besides the need for school timings to accommodate the work patterns of children, it is also pertinent to consider how they might reflect those of the parents. In Bombay **Prerana** provides care and a non-formal education programme for the children of prostitutes. It operates from 6 p.m. until early morning. Attendance at a formal school would have the opposite effect: children would be occupied whilst the mothers were free, and return home to an evening and night-time alone.

The possibility of 'flexi-schooling', attendance as appropriate, within the British state system has been discussed by Meighan (1988). Children "contract in" to lessons by agreement between parents and teachers, and only attend school for those periods. In effect, flexi-schooling distinguishes between the home as supervised space and the formal school as directed space. If this is practicable in an established European system it demonstrates that present ideas of attendance and school timings are not immutable.

#### **Human resources (11.2.2.)**

It is arguable that ensuring human resource continuity should precede considerations of buildings and equipment. From the experience of NGOs, the human contribution falls into five categories: an overall co-ordinator; educators responsible for directed activities; less qualified personnel who oversee

supervised areas; outreach workers and those responsible for integration; and specialists, education or welfare who are likely to operate on a visiting basis.

NGOs have demonstrated that, despite poor buildings and equipment and untrained staff, a highly motivated charismatic co-ordinator can operate with great effect. Current teacher shortages suggest that it may be more successful to produce individuals who can motivate, organise and train members of a local community, rather than to attempt fill a specific quota of vacancies with a specific number of narrowly focussed professionals. Turkey provided a notable model, albeit rural, with its Village Institutes (Köy Enstitüsü) in the 1940s. Selected individuals were trained for an additional five years after primary school to be 'teachers, technical leaders and advisors'. Their task went beyond simple school teaching. It included primary and adult education, and to 'Raise the cultural level...through the distribution of books, organisation of educational programmes, radio, vocal and instrumental music education and instruction in popular dances...handicrafts...child rearing...and to form co-operatives' (Vexliard & Aytaç 1964). Trainees were expected to work for 20 years, or refund the cost of their training.

In the Cameroons a similar role is intended for the 'instituteur - animateur' in rural schools.

The teacher will no longer lead a double life, shutting himself up in his school to teach children and only emerging to lose himself in the anonymous mass of citizens. His role does not stop at the school gate. Outside school and after school, he is still a teacher; within school, during school hours he is already a community leader (Lallez 1974:76).

In both these instances the state attempts to ensure continuity through providing individuals who are central to educational and cultural development within a community, and who engender the help of established locals, rather than creating a transient group of professionals without commitment to a particular locality. Although both rural, these models are far from inappropriate to the peri-urban shanty towns.

In 19th century Europe the training of those teaching destitute children initially happened within individual institutions. The **Rauhen-Haus** quickly established a training college which provided teachers for similar institutions in other countries (Fletcher 1852:18; Carpenter 1851:335). In Switzerland, a society of 'benevolent citizens' had, by 1833, not only established 'schools for pauper and morally-endangered children', but also had as its object 'The maintenance and encouragement of teachers for them, by the establishment of libraries...courses of lessons, mutual conferences etc.' (Fletcher 1852:14). With able co-ordinators, it could be possible to reduce initial teacher training periods by promoting ongoing staff development.

Encouraging local artisans to teach in conjunction with their trade has been a consistent strategy. At the **London Bridewell** a report mentioned

an Artizan..who hath agreed with us to take, instruct & bring up in the saide manufacture as apprentices twenty poor orphans and Girles such as before wandered the streetes and weare readie to perishe for want of imployment...[apprenticeship] Masters dwell rent free within the said Hospitall (in Leonard 1901:264;356).

Philip Coombes notes a project in Mali, where literacy work, directly related to practical training, was successfully done by agricultural workers. A UNESCO literacy expert concluded: 'It is far easier to make a good literacy instructor out of an agricultural expert than to make an agricultural expert out of a school teacher. (1985:275). Observers have consistently noted the benefits of unqualified personnel. Montague concluded:

It cannot be claimed that a great number of ragged school masters and mistresses held high certificates. Their work did not demand them. The qualities they needed were of a different order than extreme educational proficiency (Montague 1904:188).

It is not impossible that local adult education and the provision of teachers for children might, to some degree, become synonymous - the adults "paying" for their own tuition by passing on their new skills to others.

It also has to be accepted that, in a unpredictable economy, income from a teaching job will almost inevitably be supplemented by other employment. This is not totally negative. It counters the problem of narrow-mindedness amongst the teaching profession, creates an awareness of the real world, and teachers probably build up contacts and networks which could be of benefit to their pupils. Within the spatial structure proposed, teachers, like the children, could pursue lucrative employment at periods when it is available. The drawback with less formalised teaching arrangements is the high turnover of staff. A year's responsible employment in a school can be a good route to upward mobility (see Naik in



Kelly & Elliot 1982). However, within a supervised/directed structure, a disruption of directed activities is cushioned by the overall system. Children will not automatically disappear or become a burden to other teachers because an element of the tuition programme is temporarily unavailable. Erratic, unpredictable and irregular teaching patterns are reality of the present third world. It is probably easier to accommodate this than to attempt to change it.

The use of specialist teachers on a peripatetic basis is also more easily time-tabled within a more fluid structure. The advantage of visiting staff is again that their time need not be wasted on subsidiary teaching. To have one specialist science teacher serving five schools of one-hundred pupils is preferable to requiring schools to accommodate five-hundred rationalised only by staffing.

Like the Victorian swing ladies, supervision need not be by highly trained adults. Parenthood alone is often a suitable qualification. It is possible that a community could staff this aspect of a school without cost, although the provision of free meals, limitless tea and accommodation for some, would probably attribute greater status to the occupation. Young trainee teachers might also gain valuable experience from working with children without the pressure of having to teach. There is also no reason why supervision need be entirely adult-dependent. The self-governing ethos of the Children's Communities and some NGO Republics provides ample evidence that children are capable of determining and administering

basic rules. The educative value is self-evident, yet this aspect need not consume the time of specialist teachers.

In some instances the mixing of children and the elderly who are in need of alternative support has been mutually beneficial. In Flanders, the Fermes-Hospices took in the old and the young, 'helping each other according to the measure of their capabilities' (Fletcher 1852:8). In contemporary Istanbul the Darrülacize Okmeydani similarly accommodates orphans and "elderly orphans" - those with no family to care for them.

Viewing human resources as the use of time, the economic necessity is that those with less easily obtainable skills are not distracted by tasks that others could do. The key to efficiency is flexibility, but also an awareness that temporal/economic considerations must include those of both children and staff. The view that schooling should dominate children's lives in a disordered community is inappropriate, it must fit in around basic survival. Like Victorian England, it may be that the busiest school day is a Sunday.

#### ORGANISATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE (11.3.)

The organisational framework that can put schools into a position to function according to the needs of all children irrespective of circumstances, is almost certainly going to require co-operation at many levels. It is necessary to preserve the benefits of localised, small-scale initiative whilst encouraging more equitable provision and ensuring

continuity through state machinery: decentralisation within supportive overall planning. The development of 19th century charities indicates the possibilities. Whilst Industrial Schools were initially founded and run locally, their eventual certification permitted government funding to ensure continuity together with a degree of regulation through inspection. General prescriptions are inappropriate as much will depend upon local circumstances, but it is possible to indicate successful patterns of shared responsibility from the experience of present NGO/state co-operation.

Concerning physical provision, the availability of land is clearly the domain of local or central government. Within this, the infrastructure that permits supervised activities would seem to lend itself to community effort. This might range from the demarcation of a piece of wasteland with rubber tyres to the construction and maintenance of permanent buildings. In Lima, parents form co-operatives to feed themselves and their children at school - bulk food preparation is cheaper for everyone and can generate a surplus for those whose contribution would not meet their own needs. However, community response should not be seen as a panacea. The comment of Chander and Karnik concerning the motivation for educational projects in poor rural areas is equally apposite in an urban setting:

...it is not surprising that self-interest, self-welfare and self-improvement are primary incentives. Community-consciousness is non-existent: the public interest will not serve as an impetus for any recommended action...(in Bishop 1986:238).

In some settings a corporate spirit is a luxury of which few have knowledge.

Basic facilities for directed learning are more properly the role of the state if a degree of equity is to be maintained. The supply of essentials is usually more cost-effective handled in bulk. Although in some countries it is now proposed that parents should be encouraged to provide school buildings, as in Kenya at the Harambee (pulling together) schools, this militates against less wealthy communities. The provision of accommodation for orphans or those permanently estranged is usually accepted as a state responsibility, even if not enacted, and it might be argued that capital spending would be within the ambit of Departments responsible for housing who would in theory assume responsibility for accommodating these children if they were with their parents. Overseas AID should be limited to capital expenditure or finite developmental programmes, such as in-service training, as there is little merit in creating an illusion of progress if actions are not locally sustainable or replicable on a general scale.

The provision of 'leisure' in the lives of working children so that they might attend classes is arguably the moral responsibility of the state. The labour of children is ultimately, and often directly when attracting hard currency, to the benefit of national economies. This includes the provision of sustenance during periods when a child is losing earnings, and in special circumstances the compensation for

loss of income. This also extends to ensuring the availability of medical support in a manner which accommodates work patterns.

School co-ordinators and key teaching staff are also most logically the responsibility of the state. Within the **Children's Communities**, although the UN upheld the value of autonomy and teachers were not appointed by state authorities, governments were encouraged to provide salaries to ensure continuity (UNESCO 1952:103). A state salary might be guaranteed for regular teaching, but recognised as being part-time, which is effectively the case in most most third world countries at present. Additional hours could be funded, and monitored through local initiative. Initial training and ongoing staff development are efficient if organised centrally, but the funding for specific training projects could appropriately be contributed through international AID or the local commercial sector. The overall framework should accommodate the possibility of training local people to take a part in directed and supervised activities, by the co-ordinator.

Central regulation can usefully take the form of joint evaluation in preference to formal inspection (see 10.3.). The crucial aspect of this should concern attendance, but not in the form of truant officers attempting to enforce a child's compulsory right to education. More profitably, independent arbiters could have the responsibility for assessing the reasons for non-attendance. The law should also be implemented

in terms of whether provision was appropriate rather than implicitly viewing children and parents as in violation. Principally they might ensure

(i) that the nature of local provision is known to children and parents,

(ii) that the children are not being forcibly kept away by parents,

(iii) that a period of 'leisure' for education is economically feasible for a child,

(iv) whether or not local provision reflects a child's nature, needs, and future.

Within this brief should be the possibility of concluding that non-attendance may be in the child's best interests, if prevailing circumstances are developmentally positive. This appears utopian in the light of the conservatism of present state systems, but even in 1874 Joseph Tuckerman proposed

a municipal officer...whose duty it should be to look to the idle, vagrant, and vicious children...let him offer assistance to children and to parents to obtain employment...and to restore to our schools the children who have left but should be in them (p127).

The overall strategy also reflects closely the approach of the social workers of the NGO ERDA in Manilla (5.4.).

Compulsory school registration would be more appropriate than compulsory attendance. Once parents have fulfilled their responsibility by introducing their children to a school, there should be two sides to the attendance equation. It may be more useful to view schooling as **obligatory** rather than 'compulsory': the obligation falling equally on all parties -

state, parents, and children. Therefore rather than a 'right' to education, the emphasis becomes that of a duty to teach and a duty to learn.

Co-operation need not be limited to that between the state and NGOs. The commercial sector is a significant source of funding for voluntary organisations, but a case has to be made for supporting schools that are within a national system. More practically, manufacturers of consumables can contribute through packaging which converts into school equipment. In South East Asia cards containing contraceptive pills are at present made calibrated for use as school rulers. Many children improve their reading from packaging. A more deliberate effort could be made to print stories or jokes at an appropriate level. How much did cigarette and tea cards contribute to literacy amongst the British in the first half of this century?

Other educational institutions are also valuable partners in joint endeavour. ERDA's programme for deterring school drop-out in Manilla is deliberately dependent on student volunteers: 'The university becomes a resource centre for the good of all, rather than a great underused concentration of capital investment, divorced from immediate needs' (Inter-NGO 1984:77). In the USA, Boston University has signed a ten-year contract to run a problematic inner-city school system. The move is unprecedented, requiring approval of Governor Michael Dukakis. Initial plans include nutritional programmes, the opportunity for young mothers to complete their own education,

and the use of schools as a community centres open every working day throughout the year. (Botsford 1989:19). The proposals reflect a third world NGO, and suggest the notion of general supervised activities within which the formal education of children will be one aspect.

Probably the most crucial area of co-operation is between government departments. At present, children found on the streets might become the responsibility of Welfare departments if considered in need of care and attention, the Ministry of Justice if seen as violating vagrancy laws, or be the concern of the Ministry of Education if considered truants. As a result they are usually considered responsibility of no-one. Although proposals for integrated Ministries of Children's Affairs seem a distant hope, co-operation between the existing departments has been demonstrated in a few instances. In Nicaragua, the success of the Child Development Centres has stemmed from joint Education/Welfare Ministry endeavour. In France the Ministries of Education and Social Affairs are co-operating concerning the training of socio-educative street workers (Marçon 1985:126).

The notion that universal provision means total state provision by one government department is probably redundant. The new role of governments will probably that of facilitator rather than provider. For the foreseeable future, equitable provision is not feasible. Schools in poor areas will inevitably appear less adequate than those supported by wealthy communities. Consequently, success should be measured



less through comparing one school with another, but rather by assessing a school in relation to its social context. Schools within a country are unlikely to be "equal", but they can be viewed as comparable in terms of the degree to which they are congruous to their social environment (see 10.2.).

#### CONCLUSION (11.4.)

Whilst these ideas derive from a specific area of study, it is interesting to note how they relate to progressive thoughts in less specialised circumstances. Paul Goodman made proposals for 'tiny schools' in New York which closely reflect aspects of NGOs and historical responses.

...schools would be small and self-governing... twenty-eight children...with four teachers...The chief uses of central administration would be licensing, funding, choosing sites and some inspection...The school itself would occupy two, three or four rooms in existing school buildings, church basements...rooms set aside in housing projects, store fronts...The cost of staffing would be reduced by relying less on professional staff...The four adults would include one qualified teacher, one recent but untrained graduate...one literate housewife and mother and one bright high-school graduate...The teacher would be paid the usual rate, but the other three would receive less...A teacher-and-seven can spend half the time on the streets...For a small child everything in the environment is education, if he attends to it with guidance (in Smith 1983:145).

It may not be desirable for schools to be quite as small as Goodman proposes, although many NGOs work on this scale, but the other ideas are directly applicable to third world cities. Another existing model is provided by the 'Little Schools' of Denmark, which also demonstrate the possibility of community organisation and control within state support and regulation.

Through a slightly different view of school infrastructure, it is possible to create an environment which uses physical and temporal space in a manner that is congruent with the lives of **all** children within a locality, including those who exist on the streets. Even within the most disordered lives it can be possible to create a period of 'leisure' for learning. Much is possible with minimal expenditure, if a physical space is made available, optimum use is made of human time, and there is general co-operation. People's Education movements in Palestine, South Africa, and Eritrea have demonstrated this fact. The crucial ingredient is the person who can organise: the one who can create spatial coherence within a disordered context, but does not see a formal schoolroom as imperative. This requires a review of teacher education, and a broader notion of what is meant by "teacher".

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### HOW SHOULD THEY BE TAUGHT?

Many NGOs consider that their teaching techniques are specifically related to street existence. Frequently however, much "street child pedagogy" is nothing other than straightforward, relevant teaching. Using dice or other street games to help a mathematics lesson is the sign of an aware teacher relating well to the background of the pupils, not a specific, innovative approach. This reflects Basil Bernstein's notable conclusion concerning so-called Compensatory Education: 'it **is** education.' (in Cosin et al 1971:65). The danger of mythologizing street pedagogics lies in the latent message that those on the streets are a race apart: a group that must forever receive separate educational therapy. Pet philosophies expressed through teaching methods could institutionalise the gamin, as the Victorian orphanage institutionalised the street Arab. Questions should focus on what, from the broad spectrum of existing teaching techniques, has been seen as most appropriate, rather than developing the notion of a distinct and separate method. Teaching should culminate in educated children, not educated street children.

This chapter is divided into two parts: a general discussion of appropriate teaching method, followed by the formulation of a model for a single lesson which incorporates these ideals.

#### APPROPRIATE TEACHING METHOD (12.1.)

The distinguishing aspect of teaching in relation to street existence has been that it represents a 'bridging' process, linking previous experience to mainstream modes of learning. In general this reflects a straightforward remedial approach, but maintains a greater awareness of a child's past and present circumstances, and of possible futures. It is interesting to note Mary Carpenter restating the educational truism in respect of the perishing and dangerous classes: 'Always begin with the known, carrying them afterwards to the unknown' (1850:38).

It has been consistently maintained that rigid, traditional methods are not successful. Kay-Shuttleworth's proposals for the education of England's pauper children were remarkably progressive from a government inspector:

...[the master] avoids supplying the child with information solely by direct didactic instruction...he leads it, by a carefully planned succession of questions...to infer the truth... Since the instruction is not simply conveyed, but is made to depend upon an accompanying exercise of the child's mind, it is evident nothing can be learned by mere rote, but, on the contrary, everything that is learned must be understood (1839a.:27).

Similarly in Florence, the work at the **Scuola Citta Pestalozzi** with war-vagrants represented a precursor of Freire's reservations concerning 'banking education', determining the need

to substitute for formal lessons, i.e. the verbal transmission of ideas and results, situations which will give rise to the questions to be solved' (UNESCO 1950a.:52).

The need for teachers to listen as well as teach has become a central theme. Dialogical teaching is frequently cited in relation to those on the streets. A UNICEF/Inter-NGO conference in Grand-Bassam recorded the need for a 'new pedagogy based on dialogue' (Inter-NGO 1985:15). Bill Myers notes how, 'street educators...approach and befriend children on the street, engaging them in continuous dialogue in helping them work through their problems (s.a.:19). The consensus reflects the fact that traditional, formal school methods do not work with those who have assumed a degree of adult responsibility (see 6.1.).

Complementing this approach, the development of critical awareness is the most pervasive contemporary philosophy (6.2.), but there is an interesting contradiction within the literature. Freire's ideas concerning critical consciousness derived from his work with adults and have subsequently been applied, by others, to children on the streets. The Brazilian UNICEF/FUNABEM evaluation proposes for street children:

Intellectual development including...practical understanding of the social context, and the stimulation of independent critical capacity sufficient to objectively question and evaluate reality (UNICEF 1988a.:7).

By contrast, Pestalozzi, whose formative teaching experience was directly with war-vagrant children, came to the conclusion that, 'The time for learning is not the time for judging, not the time for criticism.' (Morf in Quick 1890:369). It is arguable that for those who have assumed an adult status, a critical approach is appropriate, but these individuals often

have a very restricted, albeit vivid, experience of life. In many respects the intellectual immaturity of an 18-year-old who has never been to school proposes the need to adopt a Pestalozzian approach simply in order to make up for lost time in the most efficient manner.

On a more practical level, integration within the home community has sometimes been a determinate of teaching approaches. At the Undugu Society, groups of children who are living on the streets are accompanied back to their home community to make an official 'survey' of some aspect of development, for which they are paid. A 'seminar' follows to discuss the 'findings' - 'Could they be involved in such findings? How?' (Dallape 1987:37). The idea is not far removed from the notion of encouraging 'settlement' amongst 19th century emigrants. As a preliminary, geography lessons were a conspicuous part of the curriculum in the Ragged Schools and orphanages, to create an interest in the attractions of life in the colonies. Once in a new country, children were encouraged to be part of activities that would now be termed 'development'.

Other aspects of integrative curriculum have directly fostered a bond between old and young. Apprenticeship in Europe created mutual obligation. At the Mettray Colonie Agricole a distinction was made between the skills taught to children of rural and urban backgrounds to assist a return home. Some NGO projects attempt to make the teaching of adults and children complementary to encourage mutual dependency,

thus combatting abandonment. A parent who has a market stall might be taught how to keep better accounts whilst a child attends English lessons to improve business with tourists.

Whilst pedagogical idealism is highly evident there is relatively little thought given to teaching methods which reflect economic circumstances. The development of non-literate skills might be central when teaching those who may never have the personal resources to utilise written skills. This also requires minimal school equipment. Sharing local news and predicting its effect on individuals is a highly valuable exercise, as is learning to tell stories or jokes, and memory games. The tourist in third world countries readily complains of the problems of getting accurate directions from locals, yet is this ever taught? Pupils can usefully learn how to explain to others how to reach their house, or that of a relative, from the school. The utility of maps can be developed through tracing on the dust and using stones to represent landmarks. Giving clear instructions is another skill which requires practice. With two pupils sitting back to back, one can be asked to arrange six matches into a pattern and then instruct the other how to repeat this with another set of matches. Notions of right and left, above and below are quickly needed. Perhaps using the term 'oracy', as in the West, would accord this approach greater status.

In the Charity schools learning was usually sequential: 'writing was taught only to those who could read "competently well", and figures were taught only after the art of writing

had been mastered' (Schofield 1968:136). This is frequently dismissed as representing a desire to subjugate the masses and to negate the possibility of informed uprising, but there are other benefits. In a poor community, reading is easy to practice without books: advertisements, shop signs, packaging, litter, etc. all provide readily available teaching aids. Reading is a much more valuable skill than writing. An individual who can follow written instructions has more chance of employment, and can derive pleasure and self-betterment through reading. The development of cognitive abilities without writing also addresses the resource problem. In Tanzania, school materials were so scarce during the 1970s the University printer was forced to produce nothing but exercise books for two years (Ahmed 1984:238). Similarly, the development of mental arithmetic derives directly from the use of money which is a familiar and immediately useful activity. Written calculation is often a peripheral skill, even to people in well-paid occupations.

More sophisticated intellectual development is also possible without recourse to pen and paper. Acquiring the ability to *précis* can be taught verbally. If desirable, even formal grammar can be discussed without the need to write: it is perfectly possible to identify parts of speech from spoken sentences. The development of debating skills, logic and reasoning is probably enhanced by the absence of books. Completing syllogisms verbally is an excellent group exercise: Stealing is against the law; Peter stole a radio;



therefore..... . The verbal development of predictive rationale is also a valuable exercise. "What would happen if .....", is a consuming classroom activity when others are permitted to challenge the answers. It can be linked to health education, degenerative spirals, and an awareness of how other groups respond to given situations.

The value of good verbal skills can be seen in the light of a Western businessman who may be efficient in a language such as Arabic or Japanese, yet is an illiterate in those countries. Functional literacy or numeracy can be achieved in a few months, even in adulthood. It is an individual's conceptual ability to use language and number that determines the success of this training and its eventual utility.

Until proven otherwise the cognitive abilities of those on the streets should be assumed to span a spectrum as in any school (see 5.1.). There are, however, a few specific problems that relate directly to street existence. In some instances malnutrition, illness, or lead poisoning from exhaust fumes may have caused permanent brain damage. More generally, the misuse of drugs and solvents are likely to have affected the ability to concentrate. In some children obvious problems such as deafness, poor sight, colour blindness etc. may not have been detected. Overall, there is a need for a warmth of human contact that is less necessary in normal circumstances.

From the experience of NGOs an emphasis on certain teaching approaches has been found necessary to accommodate these specific impediments to learning and the emotional needs

of those who have minimal home contact.

1. Classes need to be small with a teacher/pupil ratio of about 1:8, and conspicuously welcoming. At first, it is often necessary for assessment and consolidation of previous education to be on an individual basis. This reflects familiar approaches to remedial teaching, but it should not be assumed that children are slow learners.
2. Classroom objectives are initially short-term. Goals are set to be achieved by the end of the morning, rather than term or year. Lessons must be complete in themselves, especially if attendance is erratic, and the recognition of achievement should be frequent. It is appropriate to use a modified primary teaching technique with children who may be considerably older.
3. Activities are more directly related to the children's life-style. In many instances this will relate to some form of labour. Teaching materials should contain familiar concepts, and examples related to street life. The approach to multi-cultural teaching in countries with immigrant populations provides appropriate strategies for relating to those whose background is not the same as that of the core community.
4. Objectives are often decided together with, rather than on behalf of, the children. Imposed or unexplained targets meet with less success until trust is established. The work of A.S.Neill and other progressive educationalists is directly relevant.

5. At some levels of street existence objectives are overtly corrective. Correction has more often derived from the organisation of a school, for example self-government or surveillance, than through specific teaching method. The degree to which repeating moral and religious homilies or discussing personal constructs changes behaviour remains notional. This approach is not widely recognised as necessary.

Whilst an emphasis on appropriate teaching seems important, those who have been denied the opportunity of schooling sometimes have different ideas: they want to equate with their image of "normal" children. The 'street-wise' project in Johannesburg started in an idyllic walled garden, complete with swimming pool. Lessons were in groups of six and help with individual work was readily available. Boys complained that this was "not a real school", by which they meant a semi-derelect tin shack in Soweto, with fifty per class, and being caned if they did not learn Silas Marner.

#### IDEALS REFLECTED in a LESSON (12.2.)

Theorising is easier than teaching. How might ideals be reflected in a lesson? The first part of this discussion deals with the practical realisation of the ideas in relation to teaching a Second Language through the use of the children's drawings. The second part is in the form of a manual which is aimed at non-trained teachers. (The terms 'English' and 'TEFL' are used throughout for the sake of convenience, but the

discussion applies to the teaching of any Second Language.)

TEFL techniques can also be applied to the teaching of the standard form of a vernacular or official language (Labov 1973:63;27;23). Even in the schools of contemporary Naples, for example, a 'strange archaic dialect' entails that there are 'still two worlds here, and that in one of them children still spoke a different language and lived by different rules.' (Moorehead 1989:39). Acquiring the standard form of a native tongue has similar advantages to learning English.

Third world cities are generally multi-lingual communities with an exogenous official or commercial language. Second language skills are now highly relevant. TEFL relates directly to street life. From his experience in Nairobi, Dallape proposes: 'They might be interested in learning a foreign language, since they deal with expatriates and tourists' (1987:65). Many children will have learned a little English from begging, prostitution or other commercial activity; for once, those on the streets may be at an educational advantage to their formally schooled peers. An improved ability provides greater access to the lucrative modern sector. Consequently motivation will be high. Adult-child bonds can be constructed if a child develops a foreign language skill which complements a parent's commercial activities. In countries where English is a medium of school instruction, those outside the school system are positively marginalised and disadvantaged. It is relevant to redress this deficiency.

Except in some Islamic schools, drawing is a universal teaching technique. It was used by Mary Carpenter with 19th century street Arabs, John Stow introduced the idea of 'picturing out' Biblical learning at his Glasgow Ragged School, and art features in the approach of numerous contemporary NGOs (e.g. Dallape 1987:78;84; Dorfman 1984:25). Almost all children will comply; drawing is fun, unthreatening, and needs minimal resources. Art therapy is a widely discussed concept, and relevant in terms of children who have a disturbed relationship with adults. The combination of an educative/research process through art meets the ideal of dialogical education. As a research tool, drawing has been used with North American runaways (e.g. Janus et al 1987:63), street children in Cali (Aptekar 1988), and as part of this study. The knowledge disclosed through drawings permits teachers to learn more about the background of their students, and provides a basis for discussion for social workers.

Freire's methods make use of sketches by professional artists, to provide an appropriate context for literacy teaching (1973:63). It is arguable that to use drawings made by the pupils concerned ensures even greater relevance. The concepts presented as a basis for language development are almost certainly within the experience of all concerned, and if not can easily be explained within the group. Harmer suggests, concerning mainstream TEFL work, 'It is possible to speculate that adolescents are less content with invented stories and happier with an information load that challenges

them **per se.**'(1983:53). Drawings can facilitate critical debate of real-life situations, and the development of non-literate cognition in terms of giving instructions, directions, and imparting News. Lessons can prompt discussion of language which reinforces exploitive relationships, for example the use of "boy" for an adult male worker in S.Africa.

Deriving 'new language', from a drawing ensures that a local, readily understood version of English is presented which is life-related. Whilst it might appear appropriate to formulate printed teaching material using a phrase such as, "Peter sniffs glue", local variance could render it an alien form. For example, in Johannesburg the boys "smoke" rather than "sniff" glue (Afrikaans derivative), and in Cape Town using thinners is more prevalent than using glue. In an Islamic country the name "Peter" may be unfamiliar, and in Indian or African English it is sometimes more usual to use the continuous form with a definite article: "Peter is sniffing the glue". Even a local teacher may be unaware of the precise form which is most familiar to a specific group.

The problems of formally disseminating teaching ideas are numerous. Evaluation of models of innovation suggests that negotiating the innate inertia of educational practice in the third world is often virtually impossible. In respect of literacy teaching Philip Coombes identifies 'the principle of creating on the spot simple learning materials directly geared to local conditions and interests rather than using mass produced "readers" sent from afar, which usually have little

local relevance and spark little local interest.' (1985:278).

However, the major force for in-service teacher development worldwide remains the publishing house, and information exchange concerning children in difficult circumstances via international agencies is, in particular, prolific. Pamphleted material can reach hundreds of NGO projects within weeks of publication; organisations such as **Child-to-child** and **Teaching Aids at Low Cost** demonstrate the effectiveness of this approach. It seems reasonable to consider a dissemination process with the object of prompting rather than creating change. An inductive approach which combines 'top down' inspiration with 'bottom up' development seems a reasonable counter to the usual problems of take-up. Practitioners quickly acquire ownership of such techniques, and domestication becomes the positive development of the germ of an idea rather than a regressive process involving the misapplication of a prepackaged total solution.

The manual is founded on the assumption that:

- (i) the teacher has a reasonable functional level and understanding of spoken and written English;
- (ii) is fluent in the common language of the children or works with an interpreter;
- (iii) the children have heard and can speak, **from necessity**, a little basic English.
- (iv) A grammar based or written approach is inappropriate.

The main divergence from general TEFL practice is the absence of a predetermined syllabus which presents material

progressively. However logical, a grammar-based syllabus is often inappropriate and has restricted communicative value. For example, children on the streets will sometimes use of the present continuous tense without knowing the simple present: "The police are coming" is familiar, "The police come here often" is more sophisticated. Similarly, the local form may be derived from Victorian schooling rather than contemporary TEFL practice. Within a bridging process it seems more useful to consolidate, "My name is...", if this is familiar, rather than insisting on "I'm..." or contractions (My names's...). There is every possibility that a child who learned contractions at a project would be told that this was wrong if later attending a local school: social integration is of greater import than excellent TEFL work.

New language is determined by consolidating and developing phrases spoken by individuals in a group, in a manner which shares this competence amongst the others. Whilst the teacher decides the focus or language type for a lesson, individuals within the group provide the examples of language. Theoretically, a group will eventually exhaust the internal repertoire of new language. At this point 'bridging' pedagogy ends and normal TEFL techniques would become applicable.

The other variance from standard TEFL reflects the teaching of children rather than adults, and those from the streets in particular, who have a low concentration span and are easily distracted. There is consequently a greater emphasis on controlled rather than free activity.

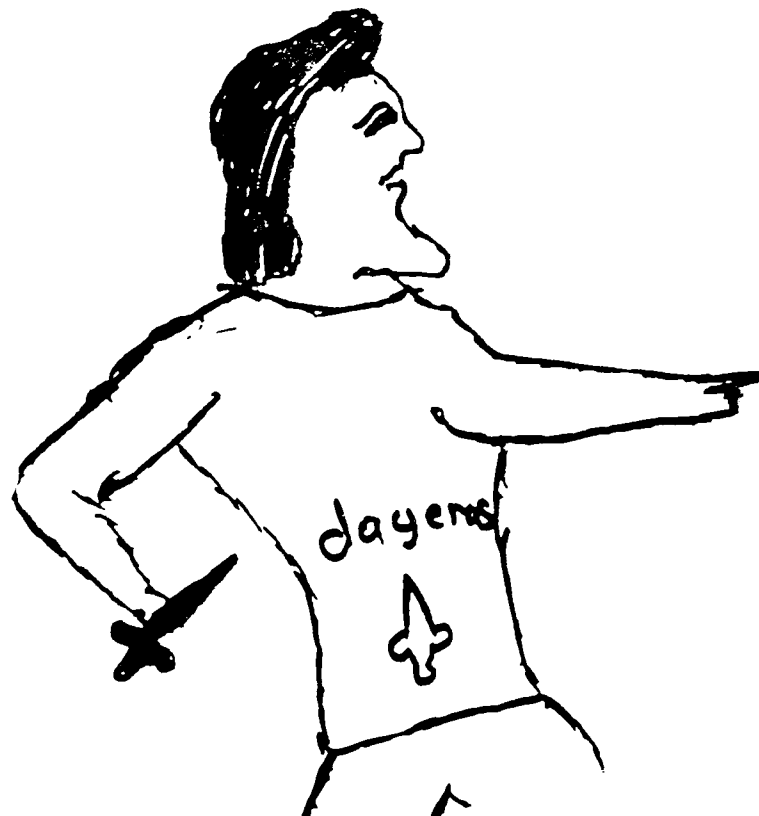




Jermia sleep in a HUBBING BOX

# TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE:

a lesson format for teaching street children through the use of their drawings.



## INTRODUCTION

This booklet is intended to help non-specialist teachers teach spoken English as a Second Language to children who have lived or work on streets, by using their drawings. This should be a bridge to more usual methods of second language teaching.

The format integrates the teaching of English with other objectives. It provides the chance for simple **research** about the lives of the children. It prompts discussion which develops their **predictive skills** to redress a "live for the minute" outlook, and their **understandings of other social groups** to combat the effects of marginalisation and isolation.

It is assumed that:

1. the teacher can read and speak English;
2. the teacher knows the common language of the children or works with an interpreter;
3. the children can speak a little basic English.

The lesson format works in the following way.

- > The theme for the picture is chosen for three reasons (see CHOOSING THEMES p2):
  1. to encourage a certain 'language type';
  2. to help the teacher to learn more about the backgrounds of the pupils;
  3. to prompt discussion that will increase the children's understanding of others and to predict the outcome of certain events.
- > The children are asked to draw a picture around this theme and tell a story about it using English words if they can.
- > Useful examples of English used by individual pupils are noted (p10) and used as models for teaching the whole group (p12). Useful facts about the children's backgrounds are also noted.
- > The pictures are discussed to increase the children's understanding of others and develop their predictive skills (p11).
- > New language is presented in STATEMENT, NEGATIVE, and QUESTION forms, and practised using Choral drills, Individual drills, Open pairs, and Closed pairs.
- > The new language is used by the children to say other things about their drawings.
- > If appropriate, the new language is written on the drawings by the children. They are encouraged to use their new English outside the classroom and to teach other children, e.g. a sister or brother.

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## GLOSSARY of TERMS

**Language type**

Language which uses a specific area of grammar (e.g. talk about the past), or fulfils specific functions (e.g. naming phrases, giving orders, giving directions, warnings).

**Common language**

The language used by the children amongst themselves. This may be a mixture of local languages or dialects, and street slang.

**Roughly-tuned input**

English which is familiar to pupils heard within general conversation.

**Finely-tuned input**

Examples of English specifically to be learned.

**Choral drills**

The repetition of a phrase or word by the whole group together.

**Individual drills**

Repetition between teacher and individual pupils

**Open pairs**

Repetition between pupils across the group.

**Closed pairs**

Repetition between pupils working in pairs

## CHOOSING THEMES

Themes are decided by using what is known about the children, in a way which lets them disclose what is not known, through their drawings. The drawings of previous lessons provide the ideas for the next.

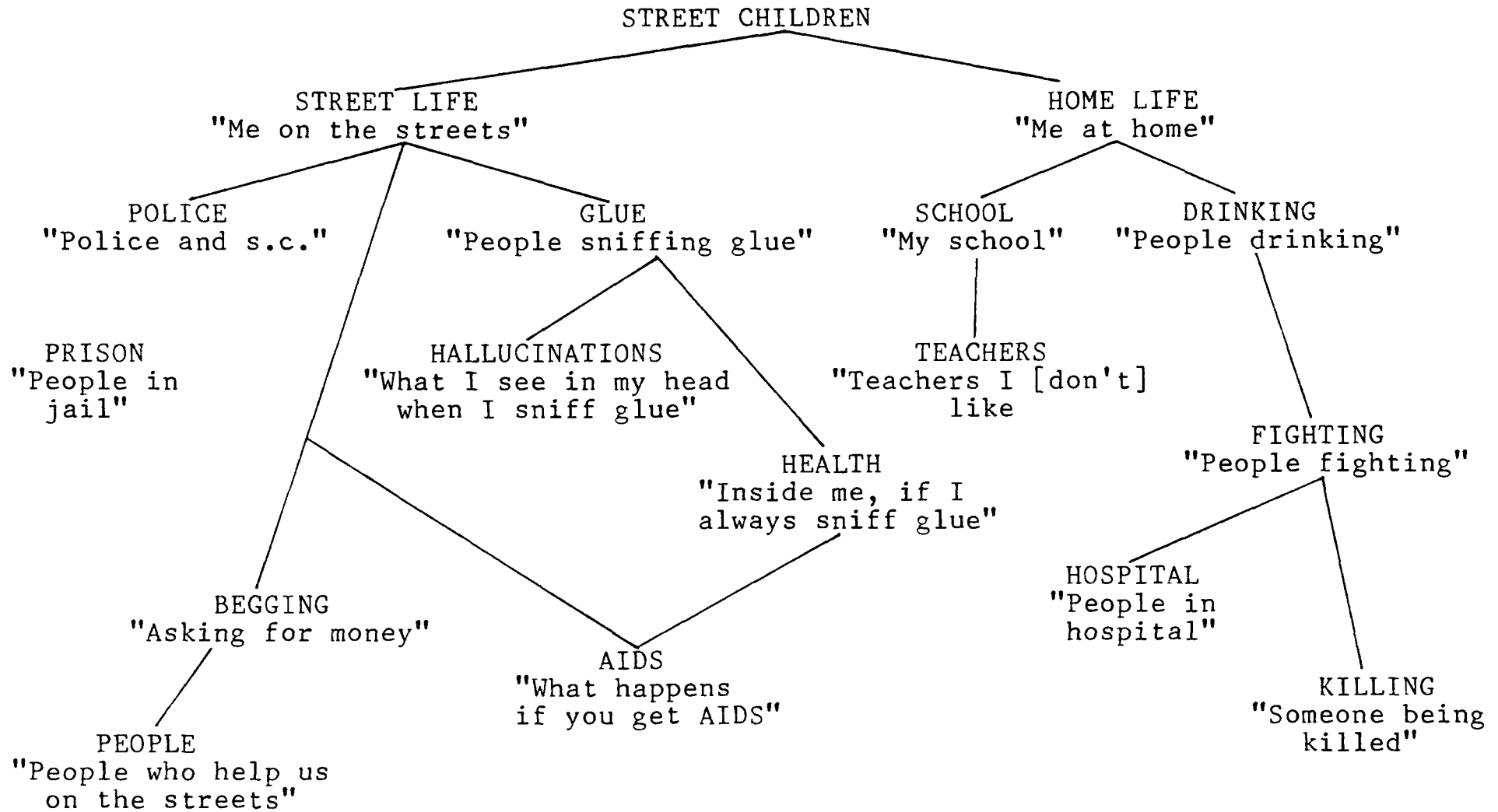
A good theme is not a guess about the life-experiences or attitudes of the children, it must come directly from their experiences. "Sleeping on the streets", for example, might be inappropriate for a group of working children who return home each night.

Themes are derived from two aspects of life:

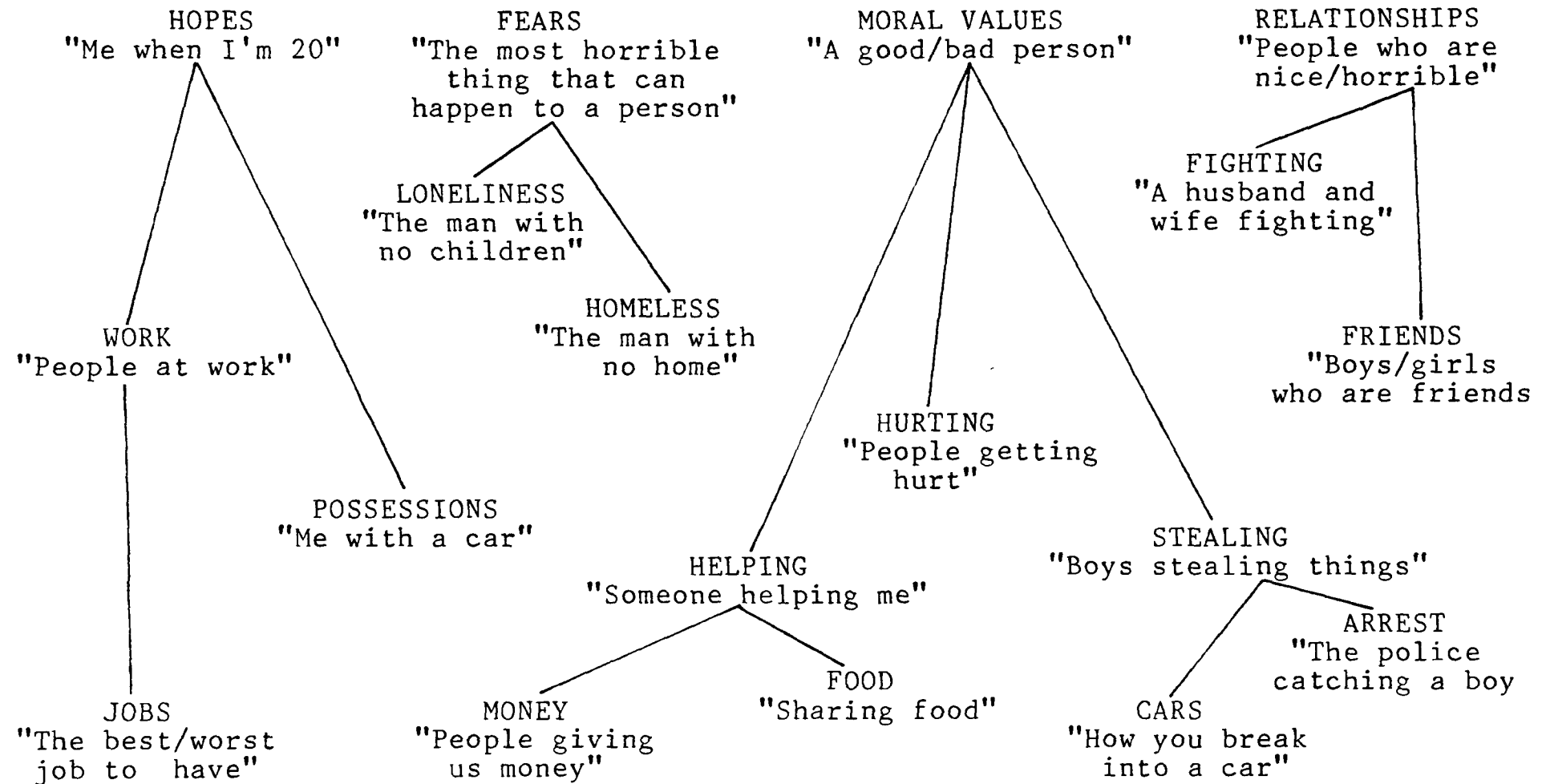
1. **Human universals.** These apply to you, the children, or anyone. They include hopes, fears, values, relationships, etc.
2. **Common life-style.** Much of daily living will be similar within the group. It is these **common** features which are used to suggest new themes. There are two known areas of the children's previous existence: street life and home life (in very rare instances there will have been no home life). These form the starting point for themes derived from life-style.

Examples of how new themes derive from old are shown overleaf.

# Examples of themes derived from a COMMON LIFE-STYLE



## Examples of themes derived from HUMAN UNIVERSALS



**IDEAS - Integrated objectives (TEFL, discussion, research)**

<b>THEME</b>	<b>To encourage LANGUAGE TYPE:</b>	<b>To DISCUSS: social understandings &amp; predictions</b>	<b>To RESEARCH:</b>
Me on the streets with other people	1. Naming phrases: "This is John" 2. Present continuous: "He's sleeping" 3. Speech phrases: "John says to Peter"	Other people on the streets What will they do if...?	Networks Sociometry Friends/enemies
Me at home	1. Household vocabulary: "This is the TV" 2. Household verbs: "She's digging...." 3. Past descriptions: "This was my dog"	Differences in homes. Outcomes of actions at home	Case histories Reasons for leaving home
A good person and a bad person	1. Adjectives 'Good/bad': "He's a bad man" 2. Good - Bad vocab.: nice - horrible 3. Reasons: "She's good because...."	Why people are good or bad? What will happen to them?	Moral values Religious influence
The police and street children	1. Present continuous: "He's hitting..." 2. 'Going to': "He's going to hit John" 3. Orders: "He says, 'get in the van'"	Who are police? What will the police do if you .....?	Abuse or support from
What I saw in my head when I sniffed glue	1. Simple past: "I saw...." 2. Past continuous: "It was hitting me" 3. Conditional: "If you sniff glue, you see....."	Why do people sniff glue? What will happen if you sniff glue?	Hallucinatory experiences Reasons for sniffing





lucky

13 years

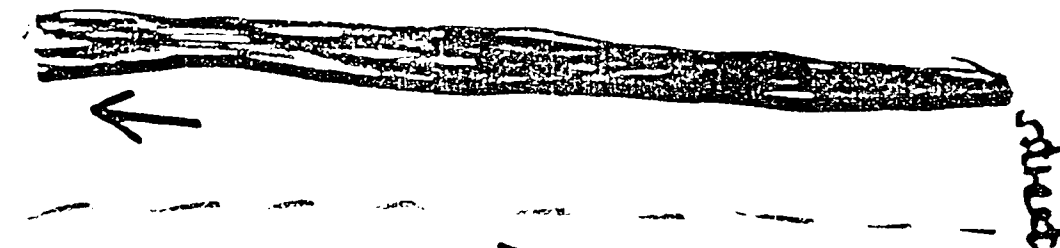
lucky sleep in a  
HUBBON BOX



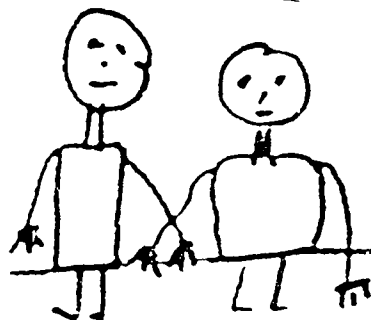
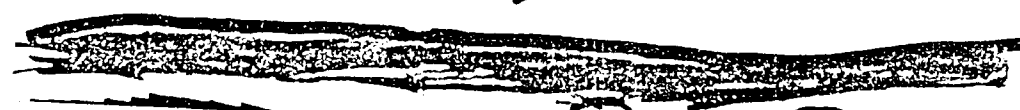
lucky smoke a pipe



I come to buy a pipe



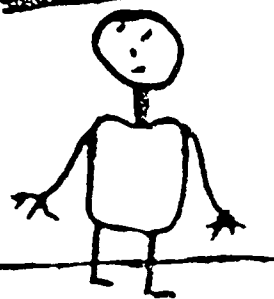
street



SIPHO and MESTARCH  
sitting in a street



victor  
smoke a pipe



charles sleep  
in a street

EXAMPLE of a DRAWING  
from the theme  
"Me on the streets"

## LUCKY MOFOKENG

"Me on the streets with other people"

STORY - Sleeping in Hillbrow by Fontana.  
Friends - Sipho, Victor, Charles, Jeremiah, Meshack.  
Rubbish box - good place to sleep when it's cold.  
Must be careful - Jeremiah was taken away with the rubbish(!)

ENGLISH - Jeremiah sleeps in a rubbish box (disturb)  
Lucky smokes glue

Discussion -

Predictions - What will happen if you keep smoking glue?

Understandings - Why do these boys sleep on the streets  
and others do not?

Why are there no girls on the street?

This format includes two preparation stages and a three part lesson. **PREPARATION, STAGE ONE** is done before the lesson and **PREPARATION, STAGE TWO** in the break between **LESSON, PART ONE** and **LESSON, PART TWO**. The pupils will each need a sheet of drawing paper and a thick pen/pencil of a bold colour. The teacher requires note-paper and pen.

LESSON PLAN	EXPLANATION	EXAMPLES
<p><b>PREPARATION, STAGE ONE</b></p> <p>1. Theme for drawing:</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Copy this into 3.</p> <p>2. Type of language:</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>	<p>The theme is chosen to encourage a certain 'language type', but not specific phrases (see 'CHOOSING THEMES' p.2 &amp; 'IDEAS' p5)</p>	<p>"Me [the pupil] on the streets with other people"</p> <p>Naming phrases e.g. "This is John"</p>

**LESSON, PART ONE: Drawing and  
story telling**

Before the lesson starts,  
revise language learned in  
previous lessons

3. Instructions to class -

"Draw .....  
.....  
.....  
....."

"Think of a story about the  
picture. Use English words  
if you can. You may also  
write on the picture"

Check that the instruction  
is understood

Conducted mainly in the  
'common language' (with  
interpreter if needed),  
but English is encouraged

In 'common language'

The main aim is to get  
clear stories. The use  
of English is secondary

"Draw - 'Me on the  
streets with other  
people.' "

4. Ask each child in turn to show his/her drawing to the group, and to tell the story using English words if possible	Hear the best English speakers first. Encourage others to copy English words and phrases.	(See p.6)
Note the story; write down relevant English phrases	Briefly note the sense of the story, and write English phrases which can model the 'language type', as spoken. (For research purposes, the stories can be taped or noted fully by an assistant)	(See p.7)
Correct the main errors of English during each story	It is most important to correct errors which concern the language type for the lesson (2.)	"His name John" /
Make comments and ask questions in English to prompt the language type of the lesson (2.)	'Roughly-tuned input': to let the group hear the 'language type' which is the focus of the lesson (2.)	Teacher: "Is this Mary" "Who's this" "What's her name" "Is he called John"
Encourage the use of English learned in previous lessons	The ongoing practice of previously learned English is as important as learning new language	
Ensure that the group understands the story		

<p><b>DISCUSSION:</b>  <b>social understandings</b>  <b>and predictions</b></p> <p>5. Critically discuss the  <u>general</u> meaning of stories  to encourage:</p> <p>social understandings</p> <p>predictions</p> <p>Introduce English which  relates to the  discussion.  Note this:</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Discuss any English used  which reinforces  exploitive relationships  or stereotypes</p> <p>Discuss - should the  group use this language?</p>	<p>Conducted in the 'common  language' but use English  when possible</p> <p>See 'IDEAS' p.5</p>	<p>What are the special  problems for girls/boys  on the streets?  What happens to people who  live on the streets when  they get old?</p> <p>"They get beaten up"  "They get sick"</p> <p>S.African street children  will say, "<u>This one here</u>  is John". This idiom  derives from whites  when selecting black  workers (perhaps once  at slave markets)</p>
--	--	--

**BREAK**  
**PREPARATION, STAGE TWO**

6. Use phrase(s) from the stories to form good models of the 'language type':

.....

.....

7. Make examples in three forms  
a. STATEMENT:

.....

b. NEGATIVE:

.....

c. QUESTION:

.....

Copy a. & b. into 10. and c.  
into 11. of LESSON, PART TWO

8. Choose language from stories and discussion(4;5), and from to extend the basic lesson.

Copy this into 12. of  
LESSON, PART TWO

9. Choose drawings to help demonstrate language use

Group rests for 10-15 mins.

'Finely-tuned input' should be familiar to two or three of the group, but not generally used by all. The aim is to consolidate and develop phrases from individuals so as to present new language to everyone. Suitable phrases are most likely to come from those who told their stories first

"This is Mary"

"This is Mary"

"This isn't Mary"

"Is this Mary?"

"Who's this"

"Mary got sick"

<p>LESSON, PART TWO: Presenting and practising 'new language'</p>	<p>Conducted in English</p>	
<p>10. Demonstrate the use of the STATEMENT form:</p>	<p>Point to parts of the drawing to demonstrate use of language</p>	
<p>a. ....</p>		<p>"This is Mary"</p>
<p>.....</p>		
<p>(i) 'Choral drills'</p>	<p>Ask the group to repeat the STATEMENT phrase:</p>	
<p>(ii) 'Individual drills'</p>	<p>all together</p>	
<p>Demonstrate the use of the NEGATIVE form:</p>	<p>as individuals (hear each person)</p>	
<p>b. ....</p>		
<p>.....</p>		<p>"This isn't Mary"</p>
<p>(i) 'Choral drills'</p>		
<p>(ii) 'Individual drills'</p>		



11. Demonstrate the use of the QUESTION form:		
c. ....	Point to drawing	"Is this Mary?"
.....		
Invite "yes" "no" answers, and corrections	This checks understanding of QUESTION form and practises STATEMENT and NEGATIVE forms <b>Do not insist on artificial answers if "yes" or "no" is adequate</b>	[pupil] "No, THIS is Mary" "That is 'nt Mary"
(i) 'Choral drills'		["No, this is 'nt Mary" is artificial language]
(ii) 'Individual drills'		
(iii) 'Open pairs'	Invite individuals to use the pictures to question others in the group	[pupil] "Is this John" [pupil] "No, THIS [point] is John"
(iv) 'Closed pairs'	Let individuals work together in pairs asking questions about their drawings	
12. Present and practise extra language from 5. & 8. in the same way		
.....		"Who's this"
.....		This is Mary, she's rich"
.....		

OPTIONAL BREAK		
<p>LESSON, PART THREE Using the 'new language'</p> <p>13. Test what has been learned</p> <p>14. Other activities</p> <p>15. Encourage pupils to copy new words and phrases onto their drawings</p> <p>16. Discuss where pupils might use their English e.g. in a shop. Encourage pupils to teach other children their new phrases</p>	<p>Ask each individual to say as much as (s)he can about her/his drawing, in English only. Ask questions to prompt. Correct errors.</p> <p>Competitions, games, quizzes</p> <p>For those with poor literacy skills this may mean simply copying letters to form one new word - perhaps into 'bubbles' as in comic strips. For others, new language can be incorporated into paragraphs and sentences.</p>	<p>Pupils in pairs 'meet' other pairs, introduce one another and ask questions: "Hello Paul, this is John. Who's this?" "This is Mary"</p> <p>(see p.6)</p>

17. Drawings and story notes are put into individual files for research use, to build up case-historys, to facilitate therapeutic discussion, and/or for a later literacy lesson.
18. Lessons are noted on the LESSON RECORD sheet.

Sample - LESSON RECORD SHEET

Date..... Group..... Teacher.....

1. THEME:.....

2. LANGUAGE TYPE:.....

3. MAIN PHRASE(S) (statement form):.....

.....

4. DISCUSSION:.....

(Social understandings).....

(Prediction).....

5. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE, type of information gained, where further details are recorded:

.....

6. WHAT WAS LEARNED FROM THE CHILDREN:.....

.....

7. THEMES FOR THE NEXT LESSON TAKEN FROM THE DRAWINGS.....

.....

8. EVALUATION (strengths & weaknesses of the lesson).....

.....

**IDEAS INTO ACTIONS: a CASE STUDY of STATE EDUCATION in INDIA**

A decade after the inception of mass education in India, Radhakamal Mukerjee wrote of juvenile vagrancy:

Even the introduction of compulsory schooling in the cities does not improve the situation. The teachers are too few and the class-rooms too dull and over-crowded, and so the boys run away from the schools and become habitual truants to find a gang leader waiting for them at the dark alley or street corner for initiating them in smoking, gambling, junking and thieving. One or other of these activities becomes central and creates secondary anti-social habits and behaviour patterns, and thus the boys easily slip down to a hardened and complex criminal career (in Srivastava 1963:vi).

The 1986 **National Policy on Education** (in Shukla 1988) provides recommendations which directly address many of the causal links between schooling and street life (see 8.2.), and reflects many of the strategies used by NGOs. The Policy states that, 'It shall be ensured that all children who attain the age of about 11 years by 1990 will have had five years of schooling, or its equivalent through the non-formal stream.' (5.12). Despite good intent, the number of children existing on India's streets beyond the influence of any form of education, appears to be growing.

This raises a fundamental question: why can appropriate ideas not be turned into actions on an adequate scale? A few schools in Bombay demonstrate that relevant measures are practicable, and the southern state of Kerala is notable for managing to make schooling accessible to virtually every

child. Relating the problems of implementation in India to these successes, and to perspectives which have emerged from analysis of European and third world responses to street children, provides the means to develop India's broad policy statements.

INDIA'S 1986 EDUCATION POLICY  
in RELATION to STREET EXISTENCE (13.1.)

One of the main factors excluding working children from formal schooling is that times of attendance coincide with periods of lucrative employment. In recognition of this the Education Policy proposes without qualification:

school timings...will be...adjusted to the convenience of the children [5.6.].

Although some schools already operating a shift system could provide the option of attendance at different times of the day, parents are rarely able to influence which session their child attends. Headteachers view choice as an unnecessary complication. In schools already catering for 3000 - 4000 pupils, working two or three sessions in six or seven mediums of instruction, this view is undeniably valid.

Optimum use of available facilities is the primary reason for operating two or three sessions in the same school. A shift system therefore relies upon the numbers attending each session being about equal, and complete freedom of choice is unlikely to arrive at this situation. Furthermore, to permit working children a choice and others not, would be taken to be

an encouragement of child labour. As child labour is in theory illegal, this would be tantamount to complicity and would present a contradiction that emphasised an inability to enforce the law. The Child Labour Law fails to prevent exploitation and effectively disadvantages working children further by providing an excuse as to why state entities cannot recognise and accommodate their circumstances.

To organise a complete school around 'the convenience of the children' seems impracticable, but flexibility at classroom level is a viable alternative. Seasonal attendance is already informally accommodated by class teachers. For example, many tribal children will return to their villages for festivals. A teacher might arrange three or four short core teaching periods during a school day, repeating the same lesson at each, and including a session for seasonal fluctuations. Those not attending a particular lesson could use another area of the classroom to complete homework or for individual pursuits. This brings in the notion of directed and supervised activities (see 11.1.) within a classroom, and the possibility of para-professional or volunteer involvement in the latter. The problem of balancing numbers throughout a day would become one of class rather than school management, which would leave more room for making arrangements and juggling on an individual basis.

Poverty, the need for children to work and an inability to buy uniform and school books, is another significant cause of school exclusion. The Policy addresses the problem -

Scheduled Castes...Incentives to indigent families to send their children to school regularly till they reach the age of 14; Pre-matric scholarship scheme for children of families engaged in occupations such as scavenging...[4.5.].

Although this specifically refers to scheduled castes, similar provision is made in many states for children from poor families for uniforms, books etc. Whilst positive discrimination is relatively straightforward on the basis of race or caste, it is more problematic on the basis of poverty: it appears to put a premium on downward mobility. Consequently payments can only be made after thorough investigation. The placement of social workers in Bombay's schools started about 17 years ago and was originally funded by independent social work colleges. Funding is now from the municipal education authority, but to date only 30 schools have a resident social worker. These may be responsible for 3000 children already registered, after which they attempt to reach those who have not enrolled. It is estimated that between 15 - 20% of families receive financial help, yet 50% of the population is officially below the poverty line (Kurrien 1990). A national 'noon meal programme' is operative, but only Tamil Nadu has been able to implement it fully.

What is not reflected in Government thinking is the degree of confusion amongst many parents about how exactly a school operates. In Bombay all municipal schools are free, yet

when children and parents are asked why they do not attend the inevitable answer is, "No money for fees". Even given that "No money" is a standard comment in any situation that might generate income, there does seem to be a genuine belief amongst many parents that fees are charged, and no knowledge of available financial help. This is confirmed by social workers. The confusion probably derives from the fact that state aided schools charge fees, and in former years this was the only provision available in many areas. A few school-based social workers do outreach work in their catchment areas to locate children approaching school age, but again the scale of this work is very small. Educating about education within mainly illiterate communities is clearly a job for central authorities. Indian electioneering provides a model for imparting information to large numbers of the population despite problems of illiteracy: television, radio, and mobile P.A. systems and information centres could be used to campaign for attendance at the start of each school year.

Confusion is not restricted to parents. A common excuse for street existence concerns the need to produce a birth certificate before a child can be admitted to a municipal school. Project workers relate that it can take a year to get a certificate: a process which often involves bribes and forgery. The CCVC workshop on street children and education (see 2.3.) provided an opportunity to confront a representative of the Education Department with this problem, in the light of the first-hand experience of social workers



and others running NGOs. The official answer was a complete surprise to those working directly with the children. A birth certificate is not necessary. A signed statement of a child's age is all that is required, and if the exact date of birth is not known a guess based on religious festivals, is acceptable. In the case of illiterate parents, the headteacher is empowered to write the statement. If professionals specifically involved in getting children into schools have not been made aware of the procedures and headteachers are obdurate or ignorant, the myth that a birth certificate is necessary is probably widely held within poor communities.

Besides school organisation, inappropriate classroom activity is also a reason why children take to the streets. There can be little complaint about the intentions displayed by the Policy.

A warm, welcoming and encouraging approach, in which all concerned share a solicitude for the needs of the child, is the best motivation for the child to attend school and learn. A child-centred activity-based process of learning should be adopted at the primary stage. First generation learners should be allowed to set their own pace and be given supplementary remedial instruction [5.6.].

The reaction of teachers to these proposals is predictable: "This is not possible with fifty or sixty children per class." However, the excuse is not entirely valid. Although class rolls may list fifty or sixty children, an informal head-count at municipal schools shows that, due to non-attendance, class sizes average between thirty and forty. Many classrooms do not have chairs to accommodate more. Teachers working in the less popular languages sometimes, in fact, encourage social workers

to find them more students for fear that their jobs might disappear.

Many of the problems of improving classroom activity stem from the adherence to rote teaching. A reporter in The Times of India recently stated, 'Where else but in India would a child, when told to read, ask: "Should I read with my book open or closed?"' (Rai 1990:11). The resistance to innovative classroom methods arises in part because teachers rely on private tuition to supplement their wages: there is a disincentive to be an effective teacher in the classroom. Individual teachers who attempt efficient work report that they are often ostracised by their colleagues. Private tuition is illegal within the country, but only the state of Goa has been able to enforce this. The problem is less evident in schools which cater for children from poorer families. However, in any educational system the "better" schools tend to act as models for others, and in this circumstance the example is one of deliberately inferior teaching. Those trying to combat this problem repeatedly state a fundamental impasse: it is almost impossible to sack teachers for not doing their job. NGOs such as Parisar Asha in Bombay are proving that it is possible to change teacher attitudes and inculcate more enlightened teaching practices, but again the scale of influence is small.

The policy reiterates that

non-detention [i.e. not repeating a year] at the primary stage will be retained, making evaluation as disaggregated as feasible [5.6.].

This addresses the problem of older children leaving school because of the indignity of learning with younger ones, but creates the problem of promotion to higher standards irrespective of the ability to cope. As most teachers are eager that students should pass, and sometimes paid to ensure that they do, promotion to the next standard is not attainment-based to the degree that the system would suggest. Some teachers complain that greater than the problem of repeating is the problem of those who move through the system but should have failed. One compromise is to accept that repetition (or promotion) may be desirable, but to limit this to one year's difference between age and standard. Again, more flexible classroom techniques would contribute by being able to accommodate a greater disparity of attainment within an age group.

Although the Policy states that 'Corporal punishment will be firmly excluded from the educational system' [5.6.], the physical abuse of schoolchildren persists, most notably amongst the younger age range. There are stories of pre-school children being tied to chairs; a European volunteer at a church kindergarten reports that immediately on arrival she was handed a ruler. Recently a teacher committed suicide after forgetting that a child locked in a lavatory as a punishment had not been released for the weekend. In the classroom of one Catholic school observed, 39 slaps were administered during the first fifteen minutes of the school day. The class consisted of twenty, four-year-olds with two

teachers. This instance and the notably docile nature of Indian children in general, emphasises that discipline problems derive more from the inability of teachers to teach than of children to behave.

The failure of formal exams is another cause of school exclusion. Proposals concerning examinations include:

The de-emphasis of memorisation;  
Continuous and comprehensive evaluation that incorporates both scholastic and non-scholastic aspects of education; [8.24].

Both sentiments reflect the educational problems of disadvantaged children, but the proposals do not accommodate a major, but rarely admitted, purpose of pupil evaluation: the assessment of teaching. Unfortunately the children are often the only losers in an examination process that not intended solely to question their endeavours. Corruption is already rife in the examination system and any move towards teacher subjectivity seems likely to compound this problem. A less formalised exam system needs to be complemented by a more formalised means for pupils and parents to present their assessment of teachers. The classroom, like many arenas of professional endeavour, is one where the participant majority is not invited to express its views as to the utility of the interaction. The distinction needs to be clearer between the assessment of teachers, and pupil assessment which is not used to measure the quality of teaching.

For twenty years India has tried to introduce a work component into schools, and the idea was restated in 1986:

Work experience...organised as an integral part of the learning process and resulting in either goods or services useful to the community...at all stages of education (8.14).

'Socially Useful Productive Work' (SUPW) was first proposed by an Educational Review Committee in 1977. Where implemented, it has been dubbed "Some Useful Periods Wasted". The idea probably provides the best example of a plan conceived with no thought as to the implications of implementation in totality. SUPW, in effect, represented a proposal for a nationalised industry of a size never otherwise considered possible. The Ministry of Education figures for expenditure on middle school education in 1972-3 were, on average, around R1 per pupil per annum - the cost of a about a dozen cups of coffee at that time (India Min. of Ed. 1973:155). How does this relate to the investment needed to provide materials and tools for each school child, and the likely cost of retraining teachers? What would the effect upon the nation's market system have been if every school child had been producing saleable goods? If SUPW had been fully implemented, it seems likely that a large portion of the adult population would have found themselves unable to earn a living in the face of such massive competition, Education Departments would have been bankrupt, and the country would have been knee-deep in bamboo baskets and home-spun. There seems to be confusion in the minds of policy makers between the great need to make schooling

appropriate to children who are already working, and the totally different notion of introducing an artificial work component into the school, for all.

There seems one possible adaptation of the idea of SUPW: that pupils help to make their own educational materials and create their own educational environment. This would entail organisation at classroom level and goals could reflect a compromise between what is necessary and what is possible rather than national objectives. As producers and consumers children would have little effect on external circumstances, and it is possible that the educational system might benefit financially in a small way.

The Policy also relates to the broader causes of street existence through upgrading rural education, including the provision of boarding schools, which should discourage rural-urban migration [4.6.;4.7.]. But even some of these accepted strategies can create rather than diminish the street population. When questioned about the problem of children leaving their homes, the headman of a village near Madurai in Tamil Nadu related that although village primary schools helps to prevent rural-urban drift amongst the young, the fact that older children must stay in hostels in the town in order to attend secondary school often results in children ending up on the streets. Some gain the taste for town life and are attracted into the informal sector. Others who drop out are too ashamed to return to the village.

Besides improvement within mainstream schools, a clearly defined 'non-formal' system is being widely encouraged.

A large and systematic programme of non-formal education will be launched for school drop-outs, for children from habitations without schools, working children and girls [sic] who cannot attend whole-day schools [5.9.].

Whilst it is arguable that a 'non-formal' alternative can be seen to address specific problems of individual children, viewed in the light of universal provision, many questions arise. Why is a different form of provision for those 'from habitations without schools', a better solution than extending the formal system? It is unlikely to be less expensive per capita as the adult/child ratio found necessary in most non-formal projects is below 1:10. Why make separate non-formal provision for 'drop-outs', working children, and girls who are forced to do domestic chores, instead of remedying the causes of exclusion within existing schools? To run accommodative streams within existing schools and share facilities, seems a preferable answer. Broadly speaking if alternative provision functions better than a school, it will encourage the problems it hopes to redress; if it is less effective the result is an inferior system of schooling for disadvantaged children; if it equates, why not consider it part of the formal system?.

The Policy talks of 'a framework for the [non-formal] curriculum on the lines of the national core curriculum' [5.10], but makes no mention of how part-time schooling is supposed to achieve the same rate of progress as full-time. If a low pupil/teacher ratio is the answer, why not improve the

staffing for slow-learner units which already exist in municipal schools? It is also suggested that 'Learning material of high quality will be developed and provided free of charge to all pupils' [5.10]. How does this equate with the fact that India has still not achieved its goal of a blackboard in every school classroom?

A Department of Education booklet, **Non-Formal Education**, proposes a

work orientated model, appropriate mainly for children employed as wage labour in the organised and semi-organised sectors, the emphasis being on relating their learning to their work, improvement of skills, flexibility regarding the number of days on which classes take place etc. (India Dept. of Ed. 1988:35).

The statement closely reflects UNICEF proposals for appropriate education for street children, but why must this take place outside mainstream education? The result seems likely to be a second-class form of provision for children already disadvantaged by the burden of labour. Alternatively if of high quality, the non-formal system again appears an encouragement for parents to exploit the labour value of their children.

In fact alternatives to formal schooling have existed in Bombay for over twenty years. Privately run Night Schools operate in municipal schools, catering for children older than twelve, many of whom do not live with families. Fees are negligible and new pupils are attracted through pamphlets passed on by existing students. However, the effectiveness of these appears to be diminishing and pupil numbers are going



down (Narain 1987:III). In part this is because the possibility of linking training to an eventual job, for example in hotels, is diminishing.

More significantly it is very difficult to attract staff. Salaries, although on a government scale, are paid at half the rate of day school teachers. Qualified teachers work at night schools to supplement their basic wage rather than as a vocation, and the legality of this is in question because government employees are not officially permitted to have more than one job. The goal of Night Schools is to achieve in two years of part-time instruction, with poorly motivated tutors and educationally disadvantaged students, what the formal full-time system attempts over five years. Present proposals for a 'large and systematic programme of non-formal education' display no awareness of the well-known problems of this form of approach.

Many of the more recent 'non-formal' projects are run by social workers rather than teachers. On a limited scale, initiatives appear successful, but there is a fundamental weakness. Social workers tend to display their greatest strengths in relation to short-term, open and closed "cases". One optimistic social work plan for educating street children proposes, three months of 'environmental education' followed by eight of 'conscientization'. After the '1st batch gets conscientized' they enter a 'new livelihood' and the process is then to be repeated (Bansiwar 1989). Providing a worthwhile basic education requires long-term thinking and commitment,

and the ability to transmit this ethos to the children. The short-term thinking of social workers is likely to compound the live-for-the-minute attitudes of children on the streets.

'Bottom up' innovation is also fraught with problems of implementation. Although money is readily available for new projects, social workers complain that senior administrators are often very unwilling to take the ultimate responsibility for a new endeavour. This is compounded because officials change jobs frequently, and it is tempting to delay decisions which may have difficult consequences until someone new takes over. When this happens the person concerned is reluctant to implement funding on the basis of second-hand knowledge, and the procedure has to be repeated.

The limitations of non-formal education were already well concluded by the Indian educationalist John Kurrien in 1983.

In the extraordinary and continuing enthusiasm for non-formal education for young children, which has been presented as the panacea for nearly every ailment that has afflicted the formal sector, what has surprisingly not been grasped is that it cannot be introduced on a mass scale, and also be expected to transcend the limitations of the formal educational system (1983).

Rather than perpetuating the myth that non-formal education is a viable parallel alternative to mainstream schooling, two forms of projects should be encouraged: (i) those providing a **bridge** to normal schooling, and; (ii) those that do not opt for an easy client group, which address the needs of children suffering serious problems of estrangement and homelessness, who have genuine reasons for not entering mainstream schools.

#### KAMATHIPURA MUNICIPAL SCHOOL (13.2.)

Having considered the practicability of relevant policies in broad terms, it is worthwhile to note the case of a school that is experiencing a measure of success at avoiding the exclusion of one group of disadvantaged children. Kamathipura Municipal School is situated in Bombay's famous red light district, catering for 3500 children in seven mediums of instruction, in two shifts. Twenty per cent of its intake are the children of prostitutes.

On entering the school, the number of plants and children's drawings brightening usually drab corridors is striking. A number of children not required for lessons at that time sit around a courtyard chatting. There is a relaxed attitude to uniform, which would happily be abolished if the municipality would agree. The only punishment permitted is for children to walk around the corridor balancing satchels on their heads, which culminates in laughter rather than tears. Teachers voluntarily operate a homework club for those who cannot work at home, and those teaching the youngest children have been permitted to remove the desks from their classrooms because new entrants are more at home sitting on the floor.

Situated within the school, an NGO, **Prerana**, operates a crèche and a non-formal education programme for the younger children of prostitutes. It provides advice about a range of problems to mothers. Social workers also operate a pre-school programme for one month before the school year starts, to encourage attendance and acclimatise children to school life.

The result is that the school claims a 'drop-out' rate of less than 5%, and the integration of the children of prostitutes presents few problems. A high number of these proceed to secondary school and one has just graduated at university and now works in a bank. By contrast, in schools in New Delhi the children of prostitutes are made to sit apart from the others.

Much of the success at Kamathipura is attributable to one person: the headmistress. She has been at the school for twenty years and very simply sees non-exclusion as a central aspect of her job, an attitude she has been able to impart to her staff over time. The sadness is that there appears to be no route to disseminate the lessons from this achievement elsewhere. It is also apparent in this and other schools that there is no formal or even informal means for the more experienced teachers to assist and train younger ones. The state system has no means to learn from its own successes.

#### EDUCATION in the STATE of KERALA (13.3.)

Kerala has, for many years, been a notable example of a third world state achieving a level of educational provision that equates to that of developed nations. There is a primary school in every square kilometre, as opposed to one school for every three square kilometres elsewhere in India (1986 Education Policy: 1.5.). Virtually every child is enrolled, and it is striking to note the amount of land that is required for school buildings when provision reflects the true needs of

a third world population: almost every bus stop will be adjacent to a school of some kind.

The adult literacy rate in Kerala is now put at 70% by officials, and is said to be growing faster than elsewhere. In the rest of India literacy levels are at present estimated to be around 57% amongst males, 29% females. Related to this achievement, the infant mortality rate is improving. This, combined with the fact that Population Education within schools reaches nearly every young person, contributes to a decrease in the birth rate as parents expect more children to survive. Children are not viewed as a possible source of income because school attendance minimises the opportunity for begging or other forms of labour, consequently there is less reward from large families. As Keralites are well educated, they can find jobs in other parts of India and the developing world, particularly the Gulf states. Kerala effectively exports much of its unemployment problem and imports the earnings of its migrant labour force. In terms of street use there are very few working or begging children - a visitor will be asked for money by children at about the same frequency as by teenagers in London. Of those that are evident on the streets, many of these appear to have come from neighbouring Tamil Nadu. Child labour, as found for example in carpet and match factories elsewhere in India, is not known to exist in Kerala.

There are aspects of Kerala that, in other locations, are taken to be an excuse for inadequate school provision.

Population density is 655 per sq. k. as opposed to the average for India of 216 per sq. k. In terms of GDP, it is one of the nation's poorest states (Lewis 1989:40). Thousands of the population live only inches above the water level in inland areas areas that are only accessible by boat; thousands more inhabit mountainous regions. Unemployment is widespread. There is little industry, which is attributed to the Marxist administration's reluctance to encourage forms of capitalist infrastructure. It is common to find university graduates working on tea stalls with little hope of any better future. Although more egalitarian than elsewhere, Kerala is far from utopian. Ostentatious wealth is less apparent than in other parts of India, but poverty remains. As a former Chief Secretary to the Government, Sankara Narayanan, concluded in an interview, "It is easier to pull down the ceiling than to pull up the floor."

The central reason for the extent of provision in Kerala is that it spends around 40% of its state budget on education. This situation is often attributed by outsiders to the state's mainly Marxist regime since 1957, but government officials and other Keralites make no mention of this as a driving influence. Instead, they refer to a history of enlightened Maharajas and widespread missionary influence which led to an established school network well before independence. Christianity has been in Kerala as long as it has been in Europe. During the 19th century tribal rivalry fuelled a desire for schooling, and a traditionally matrilineal system

meant that the education of women was in tune with cultural norms. Religious integration is also impressive: muslims will attend stated aided Catholic schools without question. Progressive land reforms in the 19th and 20th centuries mean that the level of absolute poverty found throughout India generally, is virtually absent. Another aspect of Kerala's development is also related to equitable educational provision: the difference between urban and rural live-styles is much less marked than in the rest of India. This also results in less rural-urban migration and the related circumstances that lead to street existence.

Even given the fact that school provision is adequate, this still does not answer why, with education no clear guarantee of a job, almost all parents send their children to school? The quality of classroom activity is certainly not a lure: Shelley, Keats, Shakespeare and Greek Classics are still standard, and general teaching seems even more arcane than in other parts of the country. An official from the Department of Public Instruction gives a single reason: "There is a culture of education." Parents know what schools are and how they operate, school attendance is the norm at all levels of society, and to be literate for its own sake is a universal aim.

#### LESSONS from INDIA (13.4.)

The problems of implementing India's 1986 Educational policy highlight the great difference between what is possible on a small scale and what is practicable in terms of mass

provision. Many of the 1986 Policy proposals appear to relate more to the running of a single missionary school, than to a national system. However, whilst it might not be possible to run mass education or even a school like an NGO, it is possible to relate many of the strategies at classroom level. In fact a class at a municipal school is about the same size as an average 'non-formal' project. Given a degree of autonomy and official permission, many class teachers are no less capable of constructive independent action than those running projects, and their understanding of the long-term nature of an educational process gives them an advantage. If willing to do so, why should an individual class teacher not raise funds for teaching materials, use volunteer help, and deal with welfare needs - even finding beds for children if necessary?

The implementation of an NGO ethos within the classrooms of state schools is not something that can be motivated centrally, although ministries could develop a flexible regulatory framework in which it could happen. The crucial ingredient in a non-excluding school, as demonstrated in Kamathipura, is the headteacher. Despite the obvious importance of headteachers and the difference between the job of teaching and that of running a school, no special training is provided. This oversight is not confined to India. The problem is compounded by the fact that headteachers have heavy administrative duties and very little time for work that concerns the quality of teaching in their schools. Some heads also consider the idea of training as an affront to their



status. The initial and in-service training of headteachers, combined with the provision of a proper administrative officer in each school, would utilise an existing channel for innovation that is largely dormant within the school system.

The case of Kerala emphasises two straightforward points. Firstly, adequate provision of schools has an effect on the numbers of children who end up on the streets: Kerala otherwise has all the ingredients for a large-scale street child problem. Secondly, achieving adequate provision entails an acceptance that if around 40% of a population is of school age, then it is not unreasonable to allocate 40% of the state budget directly for their benefit. Once this decision has been made, the spiral of causal relationships relating to street life, poverty - high population growth - migration - social disorder etc., can be countered. Preventing child labour through containment in schools, leaves more jobs available for adults, and this breaks the cycle of adult unemployment = child labour = adult unemployment.

Three lessons therefore derive from Indian experience.

1. NGO and 'non-formal' strategies are more applicable to classroom organisation than to the operation of schools or state systems as they exist at present. "Classroom NGOs" are easier to achieve than radical change in the present organisational framework.
2. Headteachers could be central to quality, innovation and change, but require training and time.

3. Educational spending needs to reflect the percentage of a population that is of school age. Once achieved, universal schooling generates its own need which reduces the cost of enforcing attendance and wasted expenditure from 'dropout'.

The achievement of non-excluding schooling on a mass scale would be assisted by change at all three levels.

More broadly, the Indian education system is like the Indian bathroom. Whilst properly operating examples of all the necessary components can be found throughout the country, it is very rare to find everything working as planned in the same place at the same time. Applying a notion of inverse holism: the whole becomes something less than the sum of its constituent parts, if they are not all functioning according to original intent. The reason is in part a failure to recognise the constraints on policy in terms of mass implementation and to view universal provision as a whole.

## CONCLUSION

A recent report from a member the National Street Children's Movement in Brazil told of known killings, many by organised death squads, amounting to 1,397 since 1984. In one instance a small corpse was found with a message from the assailant: "I kill all those who don't go to school." (House 1989:14). A subsequent report tells of alleged murders by the police; up to ten bodies each week are being found in Rio. Another message echos the previous sentiment:

"I killed you because you did not go to school and you had no future. Government I ask you one favour: don't let the streets be invaded by little thieves." (Logan & Alderson 1990)

These stories crudely link themes of this study. The killers made the simple connection that so-called 'street children' are also 'out of school youth'. They emphasise the importance of educating the general populace about the nature of those on the streets and the causes of their situation, but that arguing for education on the grounds of combatting crime may reinforce negative images (3.3.;5.3.). Whilst a specialist organisation must be given credit for publicising the stories, the latent message is that an effective educational system might have prevented the possibility of their telling. Most significantly the report depicts a level of public violence which was not known to be a feature of the problem in Europe. This degree of social implosion stresses the urgency of the present situation (7.2.).

Within Europe and the third world, artificial definitions of an indeterminate class of child have been at the root of inappropriate responses. The lesson is that children invariably become a reaction to the reaction to them. The more accurate the knowledge about the those concerned, the more appropriate the response, but knowledge should support relevant actions not reinforce questionable social constructs. Unfortunately it is the accepted norm to develop any field of endeavour through specialisation rather than by reversing differentiation. The requirement is for the deconstruction of polarised definitions of childhood, replaced by a greater understanding of personal circumstances. Potential school pupils are not made up of street children and non-street children, but the effects of street influence can usefully be a more significant determinate of certain aspects of schooling for all.

Inaccurate notions of an 'unsupported' class of child, akin to orphans or foundlings (Fig.5.), and of deviancy, have prompted forms of provision that put a premium on downward mobility. The abandonment of children and deliberate criminal activity have resulted from the expectation of improved life-chances in orphanages and corrective institutions. Within institutions, 'rehabilitation' and 'reintegration' has often then been a matter of redressing the problems caused by the cure, rather than by the original circumstance (4.1.;6.1.). Isolationist responses have displayed both a propensity to perpetuate the situation they are intended to redress, and to

present the need for self-generated problem-solving.

More successful, has been the recognition of a hierarchy of street existence (Fig. 24.), and working with children through networks, full-time support only being available for those who clearly require "rescue". However, to provide a partial service better than that which is generally available, for an indeterminate group, is to open a flood gate. Consequently, organisations have quickly opted for more definable clients. In many instances educability and compliance constitute an entry ticket, and responses become, in effect, élite serving. Alternatively, to regulate intake, the children are viewed as deviants and a punitive ethos is acquired. Partial responses inevitably lose sight of original intent, often then replicating the problems of isolationist provision. Treating indeterminate groups as separate, physically or conceptually, seems equally unsustainable.

Questionable social constructs also lead to inefficient provision. The same type of educational strategy can relate to children from a range of circumstances. Evening classes are equally appropriate for boys working on the streets, as for girls confined indoors during the day as domestic servants. To view these as representing separate "problems" complicates fundamental solutions, and reinforces existing social divisions. Rather than asking, how can marginalised children be integrated into the mainstream? it is becoming more relevant to ask, how can we adjust our view of "mainstream" to include so-called marginals? In numerical terms, within many

regions of the world, the "marginals" and the "minorities" often **are** the mainstream.

An inevitable outcome of separatist responses has been competitive humanitarianism. Currently, it is not unknown for projects in the same locality to bribe children to attend in order to maintain funding credibility. Those running orphanages and reformatories are sometimes reputed to make little effort to reunite children with families for fear of institutions being closed. Teachers naturally like to cling to their better pupils. Within projects the very children who could most easily attend mainstream schools are the ones that staff will be most unwilling to lose.

Viewing children in isolation from their parents is another aspect of failing to address the situation as a whole. At the start of this century G.K. Chesterton concluded of unintegrated Victorian philanthropy: 'This Cry of Save the Children has in it the hateful implication that it is impossible to save the fathers' (1913:198). The comment remains pertinent. Judith Ennew remarks of the UNICEF phrase 'Children in Difficult Circumstances', 'but they come from **families** in difficult circumstances' (1986:10).

Logically, if separatist initiatives can be a **fundamental** solution to the problem of children on the streets, the one that has the perfect answer will not be in existence. All remedial responses are, to some degree, symptoms of their own failure. It is important to note that the two most significant **responses** in Europe, the RSU and the Children's Communities,

both stated clearly that their aim was to integrate children into the general school system as soon as possible (4.4.). Current NGOs represent a useful source of knowledge, not a long-term solution. An organisation's importance must be less in how successful it is in helping forty or so children, but in how that can affect the other forty thousand in the same situation. The development of charitable work in Europe (3.4.) proposes the roles that current NGOs should hope eventually to achieve: contributing to social policy, preventive work, being a source of expertise, being able to respond flexibly and quickly to problems appearing in new forms, and dealing with the small 'residuum' of children who inevitably remain beyond mainstream support networks.

The detrimental effect of high-profile NGOs is that they become apalliative. It is feared that the Brazilian government might have welcomed the UNICEF/FUNABEM proposals for 'alternative programmes for street children', instead of addressing the problems within state education. A Ministry of Education official is said to have concluded that the government now has to formulate 'a serious public alternative to the alternatives' (in Allsebrook & Swift 1989:232). On a broader front, the Indian state of Maharashtra provides ample evidence that non-governmental education is not a long-term solution to the problem of exclusion. According to a British Council representative, 90% of all educational provision in the state is already outside direct government auspices, yet thousands of children remain on the streets. Most of the

former mission schools, which originally provided for the poor, are now the élite-serving sector of the overall system.

If for no other reason than the shortcomings of the alternatives, the only broadly sustainable contribution that education can make to the problem of children on the streets seems to be through a universally available system. Within this it is possible to identify orphans and those who are genuinely abandoned or estranged, because abandonment does not become a possible route to a good education. State schools can provide the means to implement corporate adult responsibility for these children through sharing support with adopting parents or guardians (4.3.). In the present climate of debate which is focussing on levels of learning, it is important to balance this with an awareness of the other functions of urban schooling which relate to street life: **sanctuary** from the pressures of the streets; **alternative support**, schools are the cheapest means of delivering nutrition programmes and health-care, and of facilitating general adult concern, and; **social integration**, both amongst peers and the general community to counter the isolation of specific groups. In urban society, schools function to permit the implementation of corporate adult support for a community's young. They are an enactment of the responsibility of every adult for every child.

If there is a structural, educational "cure" for street existence, the lesson derives from emigration practice. Schools were a principal means of encouraging 'settlement' in the new homeland, through permitting individuals to contribute



to and therefore have a stake in, the development of their immediate environment (4.2.). The same effect can be achieved now within the home areas of children who will otherwise drift away to find support and greater purpose in life.

Viewing the present "problem of street children" as, in part, that of the effect of rapid population growth on the provision of adequate schooling, there are a number of causal relationships. Population Education is more effective if most children attend school, and schools function well as birth control clinics because of their direct contact with adults of child-bearing age. By contrast, NGOs rarely include Population Education which emphasises the shortcomings of provision that does not take a consummate view of social circumstances. If school attendance is the norm, children are not seen as an immediate source of income and one reason for having a large family is countered. Parents will want fewer babies if existing children are likely to survive; health-care and nutrition programmes at school improve survival chances. In the long-term, wealthier individuals tend to have fewer children and schooling is a determinate of upward mobility. The links between population growth, street children, and schools represent one of the strongest arguments for effective universal provision.

Except within many state systems, the welfare/education symbiosis (3.6.) has been considered central to the avoidance school exclusion. A non-excluding school can be conceived in terms of supporting temporal and physical spaces to provide

'leisure' for learning (11.). This can be achieved by facilitating a fluid relationship between 'supervised' and 'directed' activities either in terms of school organisation (11.1.1.;11.1.2.) or, within the constraints of existing school structures, in the classroom. This accommodates the 'assumed adult' status of many urban children (8.1.), whilst outreach permits contact with those estranged from mainstream support (8.3.). The overall structure facilitates, when necessary, meeting objectives related to street life, which also provide a focus for basic education if employment is an elusive goal: compensating for confused or reduced postfigurative socialisation, creating an interest in life to counter destructive boredom, and encouraging understandings between social groups to lessen isolation. These three foci embrace the development of predictive rationale, to redress a "live for the minute" outlook and the problems of personal future planning in a highly disordered environment (10.2.). Teaching approaches need not vary greatly from existing practice; multi-cultural and remedial techniques are particularly relevant. In general, the aim of teaching should be to provide a bridge to mainstream forms of learning. Evaluation is more appropriate if it is of the congruity between a school environment and the general environment, rather than of outcome or achievement (10.3). This focuses attention on flow: where is education leading? rather than, what is education achieving?

There is also a latent, educational aspect of the welfare component. Much general learning derives from the consequences of correct and incorrect predictive decision-making, with positive reinforcement. The exercise of predictive skills is only possible within an environment which permits choices. Minimal choice constricts learning and appears a fundamental anti-educational aspect of street existence. The welfare support of an educational process should therefore create an environment in which it is possible to survive the risk of making choices, and personal growth can come through learning from a few mistakes.

Despite impressions to the contrary, it is relatively straightforward to formulate educational policy that relates to street use (13.). As ideas, solutions exist; many have been part of educational awareness for a thousand years and there are very few current approaches that are not directly preceded in the 19th century (7.1.). It is implementation that constitutes the impasse, and economic problems are not entirely to blame. Very often it is the inability of planners to see the implications of replication on a mass scale, rather than in terms pilot projects or single schools, that leads to self-defeating policy. If small-scale thinking underlies problems within state systems which contribute to exclusion, solutions logically do not lie in trying to apply NGO strategies directly to state schooling, for example the idea of paying pupils to attend. In general, lessons from NGOs seem relevant at classroom, rather than at state or school, level.

NGOs do, however, demonstrate an important fact: that children who appear to live without adult support on the streets will attend educational provision, if it is appropriate and supportive. No mainstream schools seem to have broken the taboo that pupils must have parents in evidence. In Bombay, children from **families** who live entirely on the streets are helped to attend school. To extend this support to children who appear to be outside families is largely a problem of attitudes and bureaucracy. The need to accommodate other socially disadvantaged groups, for example ethnic minorities, is frequently made a priority. Why is this effort not extended to children who exist on the streets? Indeterminate status is probably one answer.

Other reasons why ideas do not become actions seem rooted in the degree to which self-interest and exclusivity have become a survival strategy within the poorer countries. At almost every level of power relationships, the education of children presently existing on the streets can be seen as potentially detrimental to to someone else (9.1.). Many children now make a contribution to a nation's hard currency earnings. They service the tourist industry in numerous ways, not least through attracting paedophiles. Income goes beyond the children's fees. If hotel earnings, air tickets and other luxury expenditure is taken into account, the sums concerned are not insignificant. Likewise, NGO projects attract AID which is a recognised source of hard currency: cash transfers to projects are sometimes delayed for up to six months,

permitting interest to accrue to government exchequers. The incentive to provide schooling is not only negated by potential cost, but by loss of national income to states that are content to prostitute their young or view them as an international begging bowl.

Urban entropy as a conceptual framework proposes the need to accept and work within inherent disordering, but also to teach individuals how not to precipitate the process personally and socially (7.3.). The notion of social environmentalism, as analogous to the present ecological debate, provide a basis for argument against educational inertia on a more unified level than is generally presented (9.). The two are also complementary. Social disorganisation remains the single greatest ecological threat, and there is little point in preserving an eco-system if life within that is intolerable. The objective of both ecological and social environmentalism is to transform self-interest into enlightened self-interest. The problem is to teach the fortunate to look into the mirror and see themselves reflected in the company of those who are excluded.

In an urban setting, universal education at present represents a social mechanism which would be unthinkable within a "primitive" community: a "rite de passage" which many are denied, and an initiation ceremony into constructive adulthood that it is possible to fail. Urban survival appears as a conflict between education and entropy, and non-exclusion a means to maintain the encounter. Schooling cannot be an

antientropic Ark, within which a select few will weather a storm, because there will soon be nowhere worth landing. However, a non-excluding school is only likely to accommodate all those seen as self-excluding children, when we have achieved a non-excluding society. Social change in this direction seems improbable. Imperfect solutions to an indeterminate class of child appear a constant feature of urban development, but it is the scale and nature of this circumstance that can be changed through state education.

#### FUTURES (14.1.)

In broad comparative terms the future looks bleak. Europe funded its solutions to street existence through colonial and neo-colonial relationships; the former colonies cannot exploit an external entity to do the same. Consequently internal power structures within the poor countries replicate colonial-style exploitation, and the children of the poor find themselves at the bottom of the bottom of the heap. Whilst in Europe the cause of children on the streets was actively pursued by Dukes, Lords, blacksmiths, and cobblers, the élite cadres of the third world are an almost wholly negative influence on the present situation and the poor have little spare capacity to address other people's problems. The situation is compounded by the population explosion. In Egypt the birth rate suggests that the country needs a new school for 300 children, every two hours. It is calculated that in order to create a built environment, including schools, to accommodate future world

populations it will be necessary, in 30 years, to 'almost equal all the construction work done by the human race up to now.' (Ophuls 1974:50).

A comparison that juxtaposes Europe and the third world, although convenient analytically, can contribute to the myth of melioristic development (2.4.). Documentation of child-care and educational provision during at end of the 19th century, throughout the metropolitan centres of the world, does not necessarily suggest the coloniser-colonised disparity that we now take for granted. Mexico, for example, demonstrated all the European forms of child-saving philanthropy and state co-operation (5.4.), and its statute to set up a free, obligatory primary education system dates from 1867. In terms of child welfare and education, it is false to view many of the third world cities now as 'developing'. Taken over a hundred year period they are, by formal criteria, de-developing.

A more optimistic view can derive, surprisingly, from the apparent scale of the present situation. Whilst current figures create an impression of an insoluble problem, these appear less alarming when compared to known rates of abandonment in Europe (3.2.). Is there a third world city that equates with Florence in the early 19th century, where the number of abandoned children in institutions was at least 43% of the child population? Present figures suggest that of the total child population in poor countries, 3.7% is 'totally abandoned', 7.5% are 'of' the streets, and 22.2% 'on' the streets (UNICEF 1985:45). Although the comparison is crude,

there is a suggestion that third world parents are doing better at avoiding total estrangement than some of their European forbears. Ironically it may be that a relatively lucrative street environment and the absence of alternative forms of institutional support, contribute to this "success".

Similarly, hope can be drawn from previous responses. In 1946 the total number of homeless children in Germany alone was put at 8 million (UNESCO 1950a.:8). Within five years it was reported that,

As regards children of under 14, the problem seems, generally speaking, to be satisfactorily solved. The number of families wishing to adopt children is said to be materially greater than that of children without homes or families. Children's villages for war orphans have difficulty in finding orphans...(UNESCO 1951:14).

International effort coped with 8 million children 'with no roof to shelter them' in one country, together with large numbers elsewhere in Europe. This proposes the possibility to cope with 7.7 million 'abandoned street children' globally, now (UNICEF 1985:42). A post-war report from Italy depicted a situation akin to contemporary Brazil, and again the outcome was seen as positive.

From the ruins have emerged street urchins, adolescents quite alone in the world, orphans, cripples, homeless children, physically and formally abandoned. The first problem was how to get hold of these ragamuffins so that they could be restored to normal life; how to re-integrate these social and anti-social beings into society as honest, industrious citizens.

Sceptics and pessimists declared that these boys, who have been used to unrestricted freedom, an adventurous life and easy money, could never be persuaded to leave the streets. However experience in various countries and using various techniques, proved that the pessimists were wrong (UNESCO 1951a.:9).



In broad strategic terms, we know the solutions. The difference is that wartime children were seen unquestioningly by everyone, as victims of circumstance. Brutality within countries such as Brazil demonstrates that attitudes are now often the opposite. Achieving a sympathetic social view at the present time is clearly a vital educational task. Not least, in the light of a declared war against drugs and AIDS, it is important to ensure that the battles are not going to be fought against the victims. War-vagrant children were also clearly part of a "crisis", and crises prompt positive corporate responses. The present situation is insidious, and the response unfocussed.

There are also positive aspects to social problems. Crisis can present opportunity. Individuals who have become associated with education in relation to street existence have made notable impact on general educational thinking: Pestalozzi, Freire, and August Franke who was said to have laid the foundations for the German state education. One of the formative experiences of A.S. Neill was to witness a homeless child being sent to prison for stealing a pair of boots (Croall 1983:55). Organisations have been similarly influential. The UN ideal of fostering international harmony through education could find immediate expression in the Children's Communities, and the of 'self-government' ethos reflects closely the British parliament's present concern that 'citizenship' should form part of the national curriculum. In contemporary South Africa, **street-wise** provides a precursor of

'non-racial' schooling. At present mathematicians are excited by the concept of "Designer Chaos" - the creation of chaotic models to reveal latent, unknown patterns. Constructive opportunism within highly disordered communities can similarly disclose new organisational forms. The response to children on the streets provides those controlling state educational systems the chance to observe and consider types of schooling that may contribute to the development of truly national systems in the future rather than the perpetuation of inappropriate transplants.

On an individual level, hardship is also not necessarily detrimental. There is something not wholly unacceptable about street existence. What is termed chaos by some, others call life, with its own patterns, dignity, codes, logic, future perceptions, and means to learn. However, although the recognition of positive aspects of street life is constructive, this must be done without eulogizing adversity. If poverty leads to the frustration of learning, this is a repression of meaning, not a first-class ticket to heaven.

If optimism is to prevail, it appears necessary to reverse the present notion of countering urban disorder which is founded on increasing organisational complexity and encourage simple, consummate policy. Within an overall view of educational provision many of the problems at the extremities can be addressed by strengthening the middle rather than institutionalising the margins. This concurrently addresses the fact that a system that meets the needs of the

disadvantaged must equally facilitate excellence. Many of the problems of producing the leading cadres within a country also seem to stem from a weakness in the core of the system rather than from any inadequacy of high level teaching.

The present reaction to social problems deriving from disorganisation inevitably entails creating more departments, more organisations, more experts, more categories of human being - more disorganisation. Unfortunately impending powerlessness in a disordering environment drives individuals to preserve a measure of control through mystifying areas of personal influence. The result is to further complicate the lives of the more vulnerable. Education for the underprivileged is decanted through projects and programmes, whilst everyone else goes to school. We do not call élitist fee-paying establishments "NGO educational programmes providing residential care for advantaged children." It is not surprising that many of the poor do not seem to know clearly what "school" is, and that there is a need for increasing armies of professionals to explain to them how to obtain basic welfare and educational rights.

To define those on the streets as separate and different poses convenient questions but with unsustainable answers; to recognise and react to them as being like others and part of a coherent educational picture, presents a crucial challenge.

## APPENDICES

- I. Addresses of central agencies providing information on street children.
- II. Questionnaires

## APPENDIX I

### ADDRESSES of CENTRAL AGENCIES PROVIDING INFORMATION ON STREET CHILDREN

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY  
180 Brixton Rd.,  
London SW9

CHILDHOPE  
Aparto Postal 992-A  
Guatemala City  
Guatemala, C.A.

CHILD RELIEF AND YOU (CRY)  
Akash Ganga, 1st Floor,  
89 Bhulabhai Desai Rd.,  
Bombay 400 036  
India

The CHILDREN'S SOCIETY  
Edward Rudolf House  
Margery St.,  
London  
WC1X 0JL

DEFENCE FOR CHILDREN INTERNATIONAL  
PO Box 359  
1211 Geneva 4  
Switzerland

EUROPEAN NETWORK OF INFORMATION ON CHILDREN (ENIC)  
c/o UNICEF  
Palais des Nations  
1211 Geneva 10  
Switzerland

INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC CHILD BUREAU  
(Inter-NGO programme on street children and street youth)  
65 Rue de Lausanne  
1212 Geneva  
Switzerland

NEW BEGINNINGS  
c/o CRIDS  
14 Dama de Noche  
New Manila,  
Quezon City, Philippines

STREETWISE INTERNATIONAL  
PO Box 58  
Cambridge,  
CB4 3EG UK

## APPENDIX II

### QUESTIONNAIRES

To:

1. Ministries of Education
2. Ministries of Child Welfare
3. Non-Government Organisations working with street children
4. Agencies

To:

**Survey of educational provision for 'street children',  
with special interest in the role of National Ministries  
of Education.**

Your response to the enclosed survey would provide a valuable contribution to the exchange of information concerning the education of children who work, live, or otherwise exist on the streets.

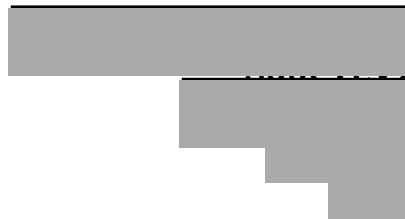
The research stems from two years working with street children in South Africa, and a continuing involvement through The Children's Society in England. The aim is to present the first-hand experience of individuals from all levels of concern, in a manner which may suggest productive forms of interaction by national Ministries of Education. Contributions are being assessed from those working within, NGOs, government departments, and international agencies.

A brief private report of the findings will be sent to respondents. The information will otherwise be used within a PhD thesis, and in a subsequently published work. The study is funded by:

All Saints Educational Trust  
Gilbert Murray Trust, international affairs sub-committee  
(work related to the UN).  
The Sir Richard Stapley Trust  
The Welconstruct Trust

Thank you for your help.

Please reply to:



**Christopher WILLIAMS**  
**(Birmingham University)**

1. Please describe provision made by the **Ministry of Education** for children or youths who exist on the streets, including schooling when in custodial care, e.g. within reformatories, prisons, etc.  
The following points are of interest:
  - a. The type of child attending;
  - b. specific structures, (e.g. night school or out-of-school classes);
  - c. the aims of these programmes;
  - d. what is taught and any special teaching methods;
  - e. any specific training of teachers for this work;
  - f. practices which are particularly successful;
  - g. practices which have been unsuccessful.
2. If no particular provision is being made at present:
  - a. are you aware of any discussion within the Ministry on this issue? Please give details.
  - b. what might prevent or hinder the implementation of any action?
3. Is the **Ministry of Education** at present assisting any **NGO** projects working in this field. If so how?
4. What are the main reasons why children cannot attend formal schools?
5. Are you aware that street children have received any form of "undesirable" education (e.g. for criminal, terrorist, or other exploitive activity)?



To:

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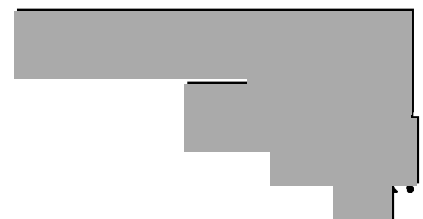
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The Sir Richard Stapley Trust  
The Welconstruct Trust

Thank you for your help.

Please reply to:



**Christopher WILLIAMS**  
**(Birmingham University)**

1. Please describe **educational** provisions made by the **state** for children or youths who exist on the streets, including schooling when in custodial care, e.g. within reformatories, prisons, etc.  
The following points are of interest:
  - a. The type of child attending;
  - b. specific structures, (e.g. night school or out-of-school classes);
  - c. the aims of these programmes;
  - d. what is taught and any special teaching methods;
  - e. any special training of teachers for this work;
  - f. practices which are particularly successful;
  - g. practices which have been unsuccessful;
  - h. which government department is responsible for this initiative
2. If no particular provision is being made at present:
  - a. are you aware of any discussion within government departments on this issue?
  - b. what might prevent or hinder the implementation of any action?
3. Is the Government at present assisting any **NGO** projects to educate these children. If so how?
4. What are the main reasons why children cannot attend formal schools?
5. Are you aware that street children have received any form of "undesirable" education (e.g. for criminal, terrorist, or other exploitive activity).

To:

**Survey of educational provision for 'street children',  
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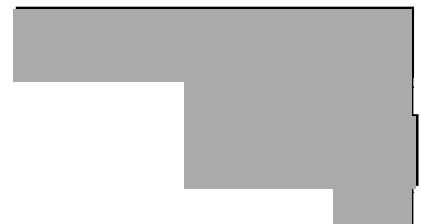
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The Sir Richard Stapley Trust  
The Welconstruct Trust

Thank you for your help.

Please reply to:



**Christopher WILLIAMS**  
**(Birmingham University)**

1. Please forward any documentation concerning your organisation's **educational** work with 'street children'. The following points are of interest:
  - a. The type of child attending, and those who are not reached;
  - b. specific structures,(e.g. 'outreach' classes);
  - c. the aims of your programme;
  - d. what is taught and any special teaching methods;
  - e. any special training of teachers for this work;
  - f. practices which are particularly successful;
  - g. practices which have been unsuccessful;
  - h. possible future developments;
  - i. educating **about** street children.
2. Please describe any support your organisation receives from your **National Ministry of Education**.  
If none:
  - a. How might the **Ministry of Education** best support your work?
  - b. What might prevent or hinder this action?
3. Does your **Ministry of Education** have any other specific strategies or proposals for street children.
4. How do you think that the formal school system could adapt to the problems of 'street children'? What might prevent this adaption?
5. Are you aware that formal schools affect the incidence of street children in any way?
6. What are the reasons which prevent children from attending formal schools?
7. Are you aware that street children have received any form of "undesirable" education (e.g. for criminal, military, terrorist, or other exploitive activity)? If so does your programme aim to counter this influence in any way?

To:

**Survey of educational provision for 'street children',  
with special interest in the role of National Ministries  
of Education.**

Your response to the enclosed survey would provide a valuable contribution to the exchange of information concerning the education of children who work, live, or otherwise exist on the streets.

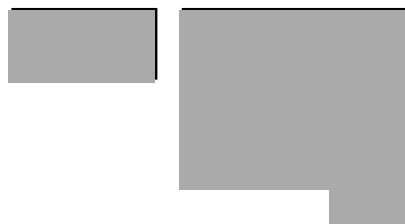
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Thank you for your help.

Please reply to:



**Christopher WILLIAMS**  
**(Birmingham University)**

1. Please state briefly the policy and activities of your agency concerning the education **of**, and educating **about**, 'street children'.
2. Please mention and forward available documentation and/or possible sources of information concerning your agency's activities in this field.
4. Are you aware of any **National Ministries of Education** which make special educational provision for these children?
3. Does your agency finance or advise on the education of 'street children' via **National Ministries of Education**?  
If not:
  - a. are there any proposals for this type of approach?
  - b. what might be the outcome of providing support in this way?
4. Are you aware of any "undesirable" education of such children (e.g. for military, terrorist, criminal, or other exploitive activity)?

## ABBREVIATIONS

ASPoSC	Alternative Service Programs on Street Children (UNICEF/FUNABEM, Brazil)
Cov.Ho.	Covenant House (New York)
CSM	Christian Science Monitor
DCI	Defence for Children International (Geneva)
DES	Department of Education and Science (UK)
DSS	Department of Social Services (UK)
est.	Established
ERDA	Educational Research and Development Assistance (Manilla)
FUNABEM	The National Child Welfare Foundation (Brazil)
ICCB	International Catholic Child Bureau (Geneva)
LDCs	Later developing countries
NGO	Non-government organisation
NABC	National Association of Boy's Clubs (UK)
RSU	Ragged School Union (est. 1846 London)
SCF	Save the Children Fund
TCS	The Children's Society (England)
TPS	The Philanthropic Society (England, 19th cent.)
UCEP	Underprivileged Children's Education Programme (Bangladesh and Nepal).
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, scientific and Cultural Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNRRA	United Nations relief and rehabilitation administration
UNRWA	United Nations relief and works agency
UPE	Universal Primary Education
WHO	World Health Organisation

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